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HOT WELCOME FOR CARTER

Several Palestinian cities and refugee camps were put under curfew and dozens of youths detained in the second week of the present wave of unrest in the occupied territories.

Israel Radio, in several reports on disturbances, said that at least three Israelis were injured as a result of stone-throwing. The radio also reported, March 9, that the army is investigating a new phenomenon: the radio said that youths in Nablus have been catapulting steel ball bearings at troops.

MARCH 4

Ramallah town centre was placed under curfew from the early morning following stone-throwing incidents the night before. One woman soldier was

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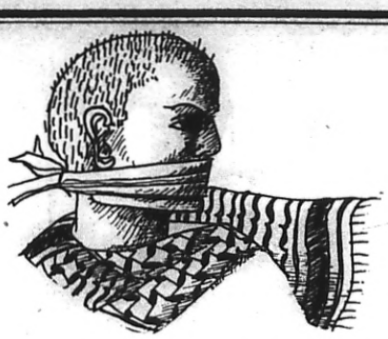


THIS WEEK'S CENSORSHIP

Following is a breakdown of censorship report for issue 149, March 11, 1983:

Number of original articles submitted to censor	23
Number of articles totally censored out	13
Number of articles mutilated beyond use	1
Number of articles returned	1
Number of articles partially censored but used	4
Number of articles passed	4

The Committee Against the War in Lebanon (CAWL) and the Israeli Committee for Solidarity with Bir Zeit University in JERUSALEM invites you to a public meeting on the theme:

DISMANTLE ANSAR CAMP!

Featuring discussions on:
***status of the refugees in Lebanon**
***Ansar prison camp**
***slide-show on the Sabra – Shatila massacre**

(photographed by Ralph Shulman, formerly personal secretary to Sir Bertrand Russell)

Place: Beit Agron, Hillel St., Jerusalem
Time: Monday, March 14, 8:30 pm

A Universal Amnesty for All Prisoners of Conscience

THOUSANDS of men and women are in prison throughout the world solely because of their political or religious beliefs. Others are held because of their colour or ethnic origin. These are Prisoners of Conscience - none has used or advocated violence.

NONE of these people should be in prison. The fact that they have been arrested and punished because of their beliefs or origins is an affront to humanity. They should be freed unconditionally.

WE CALL FOR A UNIVERSAL AMNESTY FOR ALL PRISONERS OF CONSCIENCE

WE BELIEVE that such an amnesty, backed by the United Nations and declared by all governments, is possible. It would give effect to the moral and legal principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

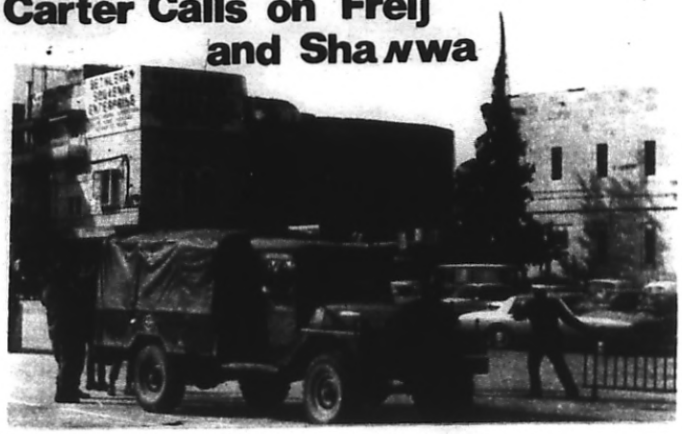
WE ISSUE this call in the belief that there is an indissoluble link between human rights and peace. An amnesty for all prisoners of conscience would be an unparalleled act on the building of international confidence and the promotion of fundamental freedoms. It would advance respect for human rights everywhere, securing thereby the foundations for justice, freedom and peace.

Name Address

This Appeal extends to all those adopted as prisoners of conscience by Amnesty International and to those falling within its definition of such prisoners. The appeal will be presented to the President of the General Assembly of the United Nations and to all Heads of State.

All signed petitions should be returned to: Amnesty International, International Secretariat, 10 Southampton Street, London WC2E 7HF, United Kingdom.

Carter Calls on Freij and Shawwa



Israeli military prepares for former US President Carter's visit to Bethlehem.

Former US President Jimmy Carter arrived in Jerusalem, March 7, on a brief visit to meet West Bankers as well as Israelis. The visit stirred only minor ripples on the West Bank political scene, but provoked widespread demonstrations.

Carter, the architect of Camp David, met with Elias Freij, mayor of Bethlehem, March 9, at the municipality and Rashad Shawwa, dismissed mayor of Gaza, at his home, March 10. The two Palestinians believe that Carter's visit to the region – his tour includes Egypt, Israel, Saudi Arabia and Syria – is "positive."

"It is not 100 percent fruitful," Shawwa told *Al Fajr* but we have to make our utmost efforts in all directions. His recent statements, when he spoke about the right of the Palestinian people to have their own homeland, are positive."

Shawwa was critical of Carter's recent statement in Egypt, that a Palestinian state would be "dangerous." He also said, "it is wrong that Carter and the US refuse to meet Arafat. This is against the principles of the US." Freij was less critical. "I have not yet met Carter to know whether he is mistaken or correct," he said, March 8.

Both Shawwa and Freij said they will demand that Carter use his influence to get the US to stop Israel from building settlements in the West Bank. They will also demand an "independent Palestinian entity" in the occupied territories, they said.

Asked by *Al Fajr* to speculate why Carter and other American politicians do not meet, for example, Bassam Shaka'a, the most influential mayor in the West Bank, on West Bank jaunts, Shawwa said angrily, "you must ask him yourself."

Former US President Jimmy Carter arrived in Bethlehem accompanied by a heavy guard. The architect of the Camp David accords told council members that he was the first American leader to call for a Palestinian homeland and expressed his regret that "civil and human rights are not being observed in the occupied territories." (Translation: 10. 3. 83)

AL FAJR PREVENTED FROM COVERING CARTER'S VISIT TO BETHLEHEM

BETHLEHEM: An officer of the military government in Bethlehem, "Abu Fahd", prevented *Al Fajr* journalist Daoud Kuttab from entering Bethlehem municipality to cover the visit of former US President Jimmy Carter and his meeting with Mayor Elias Freij.

The military government officer was standing at the entrance and asked Kuttab to show his press card. Kuttab showed him his official press card, but "Abu Fahd" rejected it and said it was not enough and asked for his personal ID.

When Kuttab showed him his US passport, "Abu Fahd" claimed that it was inadequate because it had expired. He was taken to the Bethlehem police station where he was held for two hours before being released. *(Translation: Al Fajr, 10. 3. 83.)*

Two Bethlehem Camps Under Curfew

Israeli authorities imposed a curfew on 'Aida camp near Bethlehem, March 8, on the pretext that youths from the camp had stoned an Israeli bus. On the evening of the same day, soldiers gathered all men of the camp at the Bandak factory and kept them there all night. Meanwhile, the camp was thoroughly searched and an unknown number of youths were arrested.

The Israeli army reportedly enforced a curfew on Dheisheh camp after similar incidents. Reports said rumours had spread around that Israeli settlers from Kiryat Arba near Hebron had attempted to enter the camp. Immediately, hundreds of youths armed with sticks gathered in the streets to defend themselves. The Israeli army, however, convinced the settlers to leave and dispersed the Palestinian residents.

(Translation: *Al-Talia* 10.3.83)

W.B. University Students, Workers' Unions' Reject Work Permit Change

The Workers' Unions and student councils at al-Najah, Bethlehem and Bir Zeit universities issued a statement, March 6, about the latest change in the work permit which Israeli authorities suggested for those teachers who hold foreign passports. The statement denounced "all kinds of interference" in the universities' affairs and the "violation of academic freedom."

The statement focussed on the sentence recently added to the work permit – "I read and understand what is written above" and said this change "does not alter the content of the work permit."

The delegation denounced "attempts to throw the ball into the universities' court to cause a split."

A delegation representing workers and students at al-Najah University met Samir Katbeh, March 6, and informed him of their attitude in regard to the work permit. The Workers' Union also sent a letter to the university administration demanding they make public their attitude in regard to the work permit.

(Translation: *Al-Fajr*, 7.3.83)

SECOND ANNUAL CONFERENCE

Scenes from Women's Day celebration held in Al-Quds Cinema, March 8/SF

WOMEN'S WORK COMMITTEES MEET

Despite the bad weather sweeping the region, over 300 women, representing Women's Work Committees in the occupied territories, came to the organisation's second annual conference in Jerusalem, March 4. The meeting heard reports of the last year's achievements and discussed activities planned for 1983-84. Fadwa Labadi, a member of the higher committee, set the tone of the meeting in her opening address: "Palestinian women in the occupied territories have to fight on two fronts: the national front to achieve the objectives of the Palestinian people and . . . to develop the status and conditions of women," she said. "We have also to fight (those with) reactionary mentalities and exploitation in all its manifestations."

Zuhaira Kamal reported that there are now WWCs in 33 centres in the West Bank. Over 1400 women are members — 785 workers, 500 women working at home, and 200 students. She said that the Committees have 10 literacy centres in Jerusalem, Ramallah, and Hebron to fight the 60 percent illiteracy rate among women here. The WWCs also opened another nine education development centres for women who did not complete preparatory education.

The Women's Work Committees supervise 15 kindergartens in Bethlehem, Hebron and Ramallah camps and villages and 69 sewing and embroidery training centres. The WWCs committee for detainees, established in April 1982, continued contacts

The first Women's Work Committee was established in 1978 with the aim of setting up an organised women's movement and a channel for the activities of women in the occupied territories.

The annual conference also heard Zakieh Abu Ghazaleh read the financial report. She reported that there was no deficit in the previous year. Donations and the sale of publications brought in JD 9869 and kindergartens and nursery fees came to JD 9729. "Our financial situation needs more support so we can open more centres in other towns and villages, she said.

SPEECHES, MUSIC HIGHLIGHT INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY

Three thousand women and several hundred men from all over the West Bank attended an International Women's Day festival in Jerusalem, March 8. The enthusiastic audience heard speeches as well as being entertained by folk music and dance troupes. The festival, at the Al Quds Cinema, was opened by an Amari camp choir of five-year-old girls. They sang a medley of national songs and received an ovation of several minutes for their rendition of the Palestinian ballad, "Mama, tell me where papa is". They also sang new songs about the Sabra and Shatila massacres.

They were followed by Amneh Rimawi of the Ramllah Women's Work Committees (WWC) who spoke for women workers. She said Palestinain women are still fighting for equal wages for equal work. "Wages given women in the West Bank and Gaza Strip do not even cover essentials," she said. "Women are also not given the freedom of expression."

All speakers devoted sections of their addresses to national questions, stressing the unity of all Palestinians.

The women's dabkeh troupe from Nablus set a more romantic tone with their singer accompanying dancers with songs about the land. The Ain Diuk dabkeh group from the Jericho district were more militant in their choice of material.

Bassam Sayeh, who was recently released from Nafah desert jail after serving eight years, told the audience that the number of Palestinian women joining the revolution is rapidly increasing. "This will gradually remove differences between men and women," he asserted.

Muhammad Mansour, a *zajal* (colloquial folk singer) from Tulkarm, also spoke and the crowd was entertained by the *In 'Aad Rifaqi* (If My Comrades Return) troupe.

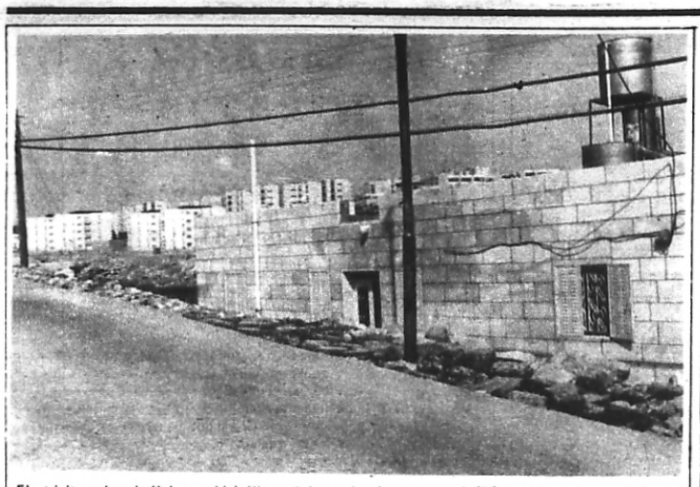
As the festival ended one WWC activist told *Al Fajr*, "Again the red beret of Che Guevara, the *kefiyya* and the costumes in Palestinian colours say something about the liberation of women in Palestine."

Boulder Smashes House, Kills Two

Two Palestinian children were killed in Wadi Qadoum, Silwan, March 6, when a large boulder fell on their house after being loosened by the torrential rain of the previous few days. Majed Jaber Hassan Salim, 12, and his brother Majdi, 7, were sleeping on mattresses on the floor when the boulder hit the corner of the house. It opened a three-square-metre hole in the cement house. Three of the boys' sisters and their parents were trapped by the collapse. Their father, Wahid Hassan Salim, 55, and his son Hussein told *Al Fajr* that they heard a loud crash and rushed to the next room to hear Majed and Majdi shouting for help.

Wahid Hussein and about 50 neighbours attempted in vain to remove the rubble during the half hour it took a trained emergency team, three police vehicles, two fire engines and an ambulance to arrive. When they removed the rubble, they found Majed and Majdi dead and the three girls alive but unconscious. Yunis Sadeq Ewaida, 41, a technician living in the vicinity, told *Al Fajr* that the boulders endanger the homes of 45 residents living nearby. He attributed the disaster to the fact that the house was not built properly. He pointed out that the rubble was mostly gravel, without enough cement or iron. Residents say the recent tragedy is not the first time that boulders have hit houses. Two months ago, a large rock hit houses of Munir and Zuhair Abu Nijmeh. The boulder wrecked gardens and smashed windows but did not seriously damage the house because it is made of stone.

Hassan family home in Jerusalem after heavy rain sent a boulder smashing through a wall. Two children were killed. /JN



Electricity pylons in Hebron which Kiryat Arba settlers have removed. /SF

Natshe Refuses Settlement-Court Summons

Settlers at Kiryat Arba summonsed acting Mayor of Hebron Mustafa Natshe to their court, March 6, to answer charges that he and the municipal council in Hebron set up electric pylons on land "belonging to Kiryat Arba." This is believed to be the first time a Palestinian has been summonsed by a settlement-court. These courts were established to remove settlers from local military jurisdiction.

Mustafa Natshe told *Al Fajr* that he heard of the charges from a radio journalist who phoned him, March 6. Natshe said that neither he nor the municipal council in Hebron will go to court in Kiryat Arba. Natshe added that if Kiryat Arba settlers have any complaints against the municipality, they can file them in Israeli High Court in Jerusalem.

"Settlers want to create a government within a government.

There have been conflicts over electricity pylons between settlers and the municipality since the beginning of the year. Six months ago the Hebron municipality set up several poles in Azoun Boweireh and Beit Inan. They were close to pylons erected over the past two decades. These areas, three kilometres north of Hebron, are under the authority of Hebron municipality. In January settlers destroyed the pylons on three separate occasions.

Israeli legal sources told *Haaretz* that it is impossible for the settlers to take out primary litigation against the acting-mayor because their court has less authority than a magistrates court. The sources said that the Kiryat Arba court is restricted to solving conflicts among settlers. The legal sources confirmed that it is also impossible to call a Kiryat Arba settler to a Hebron court.

Hebron Schoolchildren Find Bomb

A powerful bomb was discovered and safely detonated in Ibn Rushd secondary school in Hebron, March 5. The bomb, which was attached to a timer, was discovered shortly after 7:30 am by a child in the school's main playground. The school administration immediately contacted the Israeli military authorities and the police and evacuated the students. A police explosives expert arrived more than three hours later *Al Quds* daily reported, March 6. He detonated the bomb, shattering windows in the school and neighbouring houses.

Following the incident, the director of the Hebron area education department, Adnan Salah, issued special directions to all schools in the Hebron district, urging the principals and teachers to be aware of suspicious objects in the vicinity of their schools. There have been five bombs and shooting incidents in the Hebron area in the last 10 days. Two people were injured in a bomb explosion near al-Qazazin mosque, February 25. (Translation: Al Fajr, Al Quds, 6. 3. 83)

Settlement Dismantled After Arrest Of Members For Shooting At Palestinians

Following the arrest of four Israeli settlers from Kiryat Arba and El Nakam settlements near Hebron, Israeli troops moved on the night of March 7, and ordered the evacuation of the remaining handful of settlers at the latter outpost.

El Nakam, which means revenge, was established in the summer of 1982, by members of the ultra-right wing Kach movement, on a mountain top south of Hebron. The area was confiscated by the Israeli military authorities, and later occupied by the settlers who set up several temporary houses on it. From the beginning there were reports of harassment of Palestinian cars on the nearby road.

Israeli newspapers said that the dismantling of the settlement came on instructions from the newly-appointed Israeli defence minister, Moshe Arens, who said ribed El Nakam as "illegal." He said he favours the building of more settlements "on the condition that they be built in coordination with the authorities." At a meeting, March 7, he promised a delegation representing the council of Jewish settlements in the occupied territories that he would increase the number of Israeli housing and industrial colonies in the West Bank.

A few days earlier, three settlers from the dismantled settlement were arrested for firing at a Palestinian taxi driver from Yatta. The three settlers, who hold US passports, confessed. On the same day, two other settlers from Kiryat Arba were arrested for firing on the Ja'abari family house, on February 26, and injuring a four-year-old girl. The Israeli media report said the authorities are checking for connections between the arrested settlers and other recent attacks in the Hebron area.

Settler Terror with Government Sanction

Settlers' vigilante activity was approved by the Israeli defence minstier, Moshe Arens, who told the Knesset this week that settlers can, and should, carry firearms wherever they go.

On the day of former US President Jimmy Carter's visit (to the occupied territories) March 9, dozens of Israeli settlers, led by Moshe Levinger, entered Hebron firing shots in the air. The settlers' entry produced a violent reaction from the Palestinian residents, who demonstrated and threw stones. Both actions preceded the arrival of Moshe Arens to the city to visit two buildings in the heart of Hebron, both seized by settlers. The visit was described by political observers as *de facto* approval of settlers' actions against the Palestinian population.

The visit coincided with the discovery of two bombs in Ibn Rushd and Tareq Ibn Ziad schools in Hebron. The two devices were safely detonated by police sappers.

In Jerusalem, ultra-religious settlers attacked Palestinian shops in Bab al-Wad, the Old City. They smashed the glass window of the Habash pharmacy and also vandalised a grocery store and a shop in the same area. Several residents complained that they were beaten by the armed Jewish settlers.

Earlier in the week settlers forcibly entered refugee camps and planted five bombs in schools and places of worship in Jerusalem and Hebron.

On March 4, a bomb was discovered at one of the main gates of al-Aqsa mosque in Jerusalem. It was safely detonated. No one has been arrested in connection with the incident.

In Hebron, a bomb was found in Ibn Rushd schoolyard on March 5 as students were getting ready for classes. The bomb was safely defused but alarm spread throughout the city which had already suffered settler harassment all through the previous week. Israeli newspapers reported that "ultra right-wing settlers" were responsible for the incident.

On Monday, March 7, a small bomb was found in Abu Dahiyeh elementary school in Hebron. The explosive device, which was attached to a timer, was set to explode when the students queued up to enter classes.

In Dheisheh camp, dozens of settlers besieged the camp, March 7, and attempted to force their way in. The Israeli army put the camp under curfew after residents had gathered in an attempt to confront the settlers. Reports said that soldiers fired tear gas at the Palestinians.

In the village of Nahalin, south of Bethlehem, settlers distributed leaflets warning against stoning Israeli vehicles.

Back in Hebron, the situation escalated further when students of the Hussein Ali secondary school discovered a suspicious object, March 8. Students from all Hebron schools and the Polytechnic Institute and Hebron University went on strike and marched through the city. The students stoned Israeli troops and settlers; the Israelis fired bullets and tear gas. There were no reports of injuries.

Hebron residents were quoted by *Al Talia* weekly as saying the settlers intended to force them to leave their homes. (Translation: Al Quds, Al Talia, Al Mithaq, The Jerusalem Post, 6-10. 3. 83.)

ISRAELIS AGAINST SETTLER VIOLENCE

Hundreds of demonstrators of the Committee for Solidarity with Bir Zeit University (CSBZU) marched through the centre of Hebron March 5 to protest the recent escalation of settler harassment in the town. In pouring rain the Israeli protestors handed out leaflets and chanted slogans in Hebrew and Arabic calling for an end to the occupation.

Earlier, a delegation had visited the municipality and heard from acting Mayor Mustafa Natshe about recent events. Some Committee members also went to the house of Nasser Ja'abari whose four-year-old daughter was wounded by settler fire last week.

The demonstrators gathered clandestinely in the city, avoiding two army checkposts on the Hebron-Jerusalem road. "We don't want the army to find out about us and roadblock the city," a demonstrator told *Al Fajr*. After handing out several hundred leaflets, three hundred protestors marched from the market to the centre of the city. They were eventually stopped by an army officer who ordered them to disperse. There were no arrests but two people had their ID cards confiscated.

A CSBZU representative told *Al Fajr* that files had been opened against two organisers for "holding an illegal demonstration." A Palestinian from inside the '67 borders of Israel had his ID taken at an army roadblock on the Hebron road. He has to go back to Hebron to pick it up, the representative said.

The Dawn

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Moving On

The more active Palestinian women become, the more they will confront their own society – indeed the more they need to confront restrictive forces within their immediate world.

The struggle to become an equal member of society is a complex process. Can we say it begins in the home or in the workplace, among the educated, with city-dwellers, with factory workers, or the already politicised? Is it a struggle against men or employers, the occupier, traditional values or father-nature?

There is a women's movement in the occupied territories alive and well amid the plethora of committees, slogans and symbolic activities. There is an unstoppable movement of women. Whether this motion is directed from outside or inside, from top or base, from this committee or that, women are fighting systemic unfairness, and are showing resourcefulness, courage and vigour in their methods. How tempting it must be to want to harness this energy, to control it for parochial advantage.

There is not 'one kind' of woman in the West Bank and Gaza. There are many, with different problems and at different levels of under-development. Their immediate worlds may not bear much similarity with one another, but all are fighting and need to fight more. A unified program that recognises this common struggle, feeds it instead of factionalising it, and addresses itself to women's basic social needs, is a first priority.

AL FAJR Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly

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THE US REMAINS BLIND AND INTRANSIGENT

A WORD TO FORMER PRESIDENT AND PRESENT GUEST, JIMMY CARTER

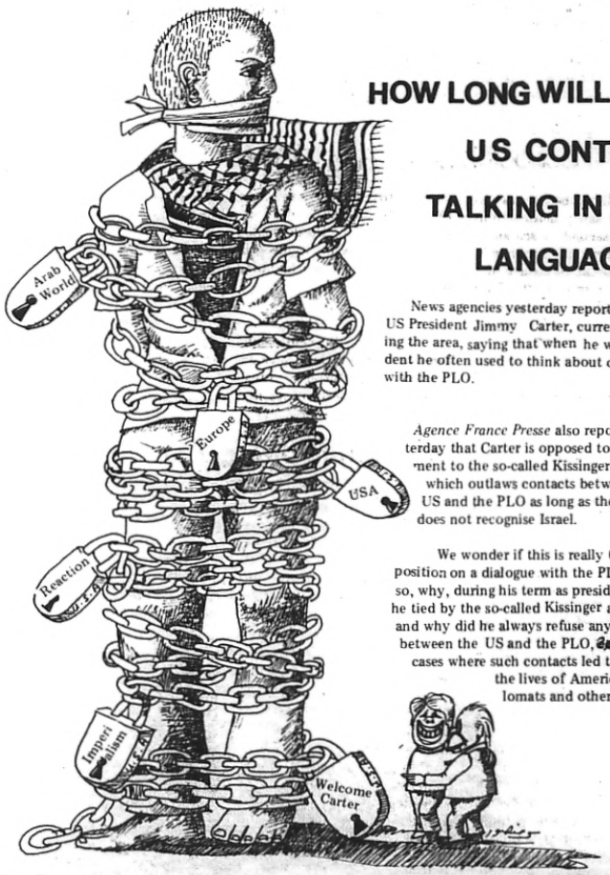
The Palestine National Council in its 16th session held in Algeria from February 14-24, accepted the Arab peace plan (the Fez Plan) and late Soviet President Brezhnev's plan, both of which contain a guarantee or declaration of the necessity to achieve peace in the region on the basis of securing peace for all states in the region and the rights of all peoples to live in peace. This is clear proof, which needs no intelligence to understand, that the Palestinian people represented by its national council has taken a large and courageous step forward. The US should evaluate this step and should quickly open a serious and responsible dialogue with the PLO to reach a lasting and just solution to the Palestinian question, guaranteeing the Palestinian people their rights to freedom, stability and national honour in an independent state.

Without wishing to predict events, we would like to say to Carter, the guest, that any Palestinian personality, mayor or otherwise, will not say anything which differs from the basic direction he will hear if he meets with any Palestinian leader outside the occupied territories.

Despite the differences of style and form in which Palestinian demands are presented, what Carter will hear is that the Palestinian people adhere to the demands to their rights to self-determination and to establish an independent state on national soil — just like other peoples of the world who enjoy self- determination. This being the case we wish to whisper in the ear of the former president and current guest: "Why waste time on roundabout paths? Why doesn't Washington understand that there is a clear and known address which cannot be relaced by any marginal or minor factors?"

Former US President Jimmy Carter is currently visiting Israel and the occupied territories as part of his tour of the Middle East. He will visit a number of Arab countries in addition to Israel. It has been learned that Carter will meet a number of West Bank and Gaza mayors and possibly other Palestinian national personalities, to hear their opinions of the Israel-Arab conflict, ways to solve it, and certainly their view on the "autonomy" of the Camp David accords. Carter formed those accords and believed he would enter history as the man who achieved peace in this most explosive region of the world.

Can the former president and present guest help to convey this view to his successor, who still adheres to his stubborn position on the status of the Palestinian people?



HOW LONG WILL THE US CONTINUE TALKING IN TWO LANGUAGES?

News agencies yesterday reported former US President Jimmy Carter, currently visiting the area, saying that when he was president he often used to think about contacts with the PLO.

Agence France Presse also reported yesterday that Carter is opposed to commitment to the so-called Kissinger article which outlaws contacts between the US and the PLO as long as the latter does not recognise Israel.

We wonder if this is really Carter's position on a dialogue with the PLO. If so, why, during his term as president, was he tied by the so-called Kissinger article and why did he always refuse any contact between the US and the PLO, except in cases where such contacts led to saving the lives of American diplomats and other citizens?

WHAT DOES CARTER WANT?

by Haidar Abd-al Shafi

News reports have informed us that Jimmy Carter, former US president, will visit Israel as part of his tour of the region and will meet a number of West Bank and Gaza personalities. We do not know exactly what Carter's aim is on this visit or in his attempts to meet Palestinian personalities; we also do not know if he is entrusted by the present US government with any mission. But we do know exactly who Carter is and his position on our cause and fundamental rights. For us he is, above all else, the central and most important of the three who formulated and signed the Camp David accords which denied our fundamental right to self-determination and a united independent entity.

The accords confirm the dispersion of the Palestinian people, extirpate them, annihilate their existence as an independent people, and aim to serve imperialist interests in the region. Carter, from this point of view, does not need to learn more about the Palestinian cause; similarly, his personal position corresponds to the text of the accord. It is thus inconceivable that the aim of contacts is to glean more information. If, for the sake of argument, we suppose that Carter— as an ordinary US citizen— is going through a period of consciousness-raising which calls on him to withdraw his former position and reconsider his ill-treatment of the Palestinian people, then he should agree to meet their legitimate representative in order to understand its hopes and aspirations. . .

But it is not so, and there is no room for entertaining such illusions. I would, however, like to ask Carter, before he meets with whoever he is going to:

(1) Why does he and the US government take a hostile stand towards the Palestinian people?

(2) Why does the US deny the Palestinian people the right to self-determination?

(3) How do his and the US government's stand correspond with their claim to defend human rights and promote attainment of these rights?

(4) How, and by what logic, can an independent Palestinian state be a destabilising factor in the region, as he and Reagan claim? Where is the stability the two want to preserve?

The US government, in its hostility to Palestinian rights, unashamedly colluded in the Zionist aggression against Lebanon and stained its hands with the blood of innocent Palestinians. The massacres are still being committed against them and the Lebanese by US allies, supplied by it with the tools of war and destruction. Despite all this, the US wants to continue to deceive the Palestinian people and to appear to be neutral and give the false hope of a change for the better in its position. Would you be deceived?

The answer is negative.

Arab traitors cannot pin delusions and hopes on those who have proved their hostility towards us; neither can we be saved by oppressors and the wicked.

The real way is to consolidate our ranks, build up our own potential and strengthen ties with our friends everywhere with a lasting promise of patience and trust.

DRAWING LESSONS FROM THE WARNING SIRENS

by Sari Nusseibeh

Since Beirut, individual and collective voices inside and outside the occupied territories have been increasingly calling for the necessity of saving what can be saved before it is too late, as Palestinian land disappears or melts before their eyes. We watch the Jordanian news and political declarations every day, (which try to) indicate the enormity of the crisis and the hugeness of the tragedy from which we suffer compared with our inadequacy. It reached its zenith on Jordan TV on Saturday night, February 26, with the revelation of the discovery of a Zionist plan to force the emigration of West Bank and Gaza Strip residents, after the annexation of these areas to Israel. Disseminating such news serves these very same plans in as much as prophecying an event is part of the plan to make it happen.

This campaign of terror is accompanied by a wave of local voices, journalists or political personalities from all over the West Bank and Gaza, who continue to exaggerate the possibility of an accord being reached between Arafat and Hussein which would enable the latter to join hands with the United States to "save the land and its inhabitants from the grasp of the occupation." Those who demand that the residents draw a lesson from the warning sirens and the distorted interpretations of PNC resolutions want the inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza to rush to ask Jordan to intervene.

I must make a few points on this call:

First: Concentration by the Jordanian media on the expansion of Israeli settlements in the West Bank and Gaza, gives the false impression that the West Bank is the heart of Palestine. But the truth behind the fabricated storm over settlements is that Israel will continue to build what it likes and to confiscate what parts of the West Bank it wants. This, however, does not undercut the possibility of a just solution, because a just solution is not merely related to the West Bank, its land or even basically its people. It is a solution of the whole Palestinian issue.

Second: The PNC resolutions clearly rejected the form and content of the Reagan plan. They were also completely clear about all plans which violate the right of the PLO as sole representative of the Palestinian people, specifically plans which talk of giving a power-of-attorney (to other parties), the deputation (of the PLO's unique role) or joint rights in representation. This was repeated in the Council's resolutions on relations with Jordan, in particular. It is decisively confirmed that the PLO is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people inside and outside the occupied territories.

The Palestinian leadership headed by brother Abu Ammar (Yasir Arafat), finds no place for the American-Jordanian plan in this Palestinian picture — unless the features of this plan are changed in line with the straightforward peace plans endorsed by the PNC.

Third: It is naive to link a possible solution with the person of the American president, or with certain periods in his term of office. US relations with the Middle East are relations of interest and it is these interests which determine whether the US is prepared to stand by the Arabs and to what extent. These interests will not be removed merely by the start of a new presidential election campaign.

Fourth, and finally: I believe, based on the PNC resolutions on one hand and the actual possibilities available for realising them on the other, that we in the occupied territories have to direct our concern, and not our illusions, to the solution we patiently await. We should interpret the given fact of continuing occupation with continuous confiscation, annexation of land, etc., in a way that can take maximum advantage of the situation and minimise the negative.

From this starting point it may be worthwhile to think seriously on three levels:

— To cleanse ourselves of stupid theories, emotionalism and dependency on relations between us and our local leadership. We should rely on intellectual capability and good moral standing as the two basic principles for strengthening and developing our leadership;

— Developing militant relations and mutual national conceptions with our people inside the green line to ensure the continuation and development of the one indivisible identity of the Palestinian people in all parts of Palestine,

Deepening the bonds of friendship linking us by introducing and developing popular institutions truly rooted in the interests and aspirations and societies represented in the countryside and towns, between peasants, city-dwellers, unions, students and professionals, in order to form a cohesive bond between these institutions to reflect Palestinian unity of interests wherever it is found in Palestine.

Let us direct our attention to work, not to what can or what cannot be achieved. If we develop our potential, there is nothing which cannot be achieved.

(Translation: Al Fajr)

WE'RE IN THE MONEY

by John Richardson

Israeli journalists are a rum bunch, there's no doubt about it. On the one hand, there seems to be no depth to which they won't crawl and yet, at the same time, some hit the very heights of their profession. We've had two examples of this seeming schizophrenia this week.

The profession as a whole can only be said to have been brought into disrepute by the successful boycott by the Israeli Journalists Association (IJA) of the Committee Against the War in Lebanon (CAWL) press conference on Ansar. Yet Israel TV reporter Gil Sadan deserves nothing but praise for exposing the activities of the Village League in Ramallah and, it seems, forcing a reluctant police force to charge leading members for their criminal activities.

It's worth bearing in mind that Sadan is new to the job. His predecessor, Rafiq Halabi, was squeezed out of the TV for making reports which upset the occupation authorities. In this light Sadan's exposure of the League is even more remarkable. It's doubtful that Jamil and Riyad Khatib will ever see the inside of a jail for kidnapping and . . . . . .

Perhaps selected Israeli journalists should be inducted into the police force. There was the remarkable report in *Middle East International*, which we reprinted a few weeks ago, that Dani Rubinstein of *Davar* had handed the names of those who tried to assassinate three West Bank mayors in 1980 to the Israeli security services *two years ago*. As yet, though the suspects have been interrogated once, no arrests have been made.

Reports state that a special investigation squad is hot on the trail of the mosque bombers of Hebron. One suspects that, given the proper co-operation and powers of arrest, Sadan and Rubinstein would have the whole case sewn up by now.

But . . . what about that boycott? East Jerusalem journalists have long since given up any hope of collegial solidarity on the questions of principle — you know, freedom of speech, the jailing of journalists, that sort of thing. But there were even a few raised eyebrows down here when the IJA decision that CAWL be blacklisted to protect the business monopoly of their Beit Agron HQ broke. Worse than just the fact that the West Jerusalem press has no desire to report on the situation of Palestinian detainees is the fact that they do so to protect the business interests of the IJA! It's often said by leftists in the West that there can be no real free press when all newspapers are in the hands of multi-millionaires. What happens to free speech when a professional journalists' organisation decides to muscle in on the private enterprise kick by forbidding members to cover a conference unless there's money in it for them, I hate to think. Most depressing is the fact that with the exception of one reporter (who is not affiliated with the IJA), the whole of the Israeli press corps acceded to the decision of their management (no other term can now suffice). Not one individual crossed the dollar-defined picket line.

Come to think of it, maybe it is in the police that a parallel and key to the seeming schizophrenia lies: there are great investigators among them, but, as a whole, the profession runs on bribery.

MAKASSED HOSPITAL: WEST BANK INSTITUTION CAUGHT IN CONTROVERSY

by Daoud Kuttab

Standing high on the Mount of Olives in Jerusalem is an impressive medical establishment: Makassed hospital. The hospital, which has become a haven for the sick from all parts of Palestine, has, like many other institutions in the occupied territories suffered its share of controversies, some of which are still hampering the advancement of the hospital.

Immediately after the 1967 Israeli occupation, patients and medical personnel were rushed into the then unfinished hospital complex in an attempt to prevent the Israelis from taking over the planned hospital and converting it into a police station. The community's efforts to save the hospital succeeded. Instead, the authorities put their hands on another unoccupied hospital Sheikh Jarah — now the Jerusalem district police headquarters. Officially, Makassed hospital was able to open a small wing with 65 beds in June 1968. Today, the hospital is the biggest in the West Bank with advanced equipment and qualified personnel that take care of nearly 200 patients.

Makassed Hospital: " the institution has suffered its share of controversies."

A nurse surveys intruments in Makassed's intensive care unit.

Elections result in problems

In 1977, Makassed Islamic Charitable Society, which runs the hospital as well as seven other clinics, held elections for an administrative committee of the society. Previously, committees were chosen by consensus. This time, however, the Jordanian government, financier for the hospital, intervened and opposing sides emerged. The side supported by Jordan lost in the elections to a new committee headed by Mahmoud Hibbiyye who was subsequently appointed general manager of the society and secretary of the administrative committee. Immediately following his election, Hibbiyye is said to have forced out Tawfiq Shakhshir, the hospital president, and Dr Amin Khatib who was on the opposing slate.

Makassed's membership in the West Bank Charitable Federation, which is headed by Amin Khatib, was frozen and the Jordanian government, apparently unhappy with the results of the poll, froze the hospital's funds in Jordanian banks. Dr Khatib claims that at least JD 1 million received from the US oil giant Aramco were frozen. Hospital officials say only JD160,000 are involved.

With funds from Jordan stopped, Hibbiyye took off for the Gulf and was able to drum up vast amounts of money for the hospital. During the past three years, the hospital has introduced the following improvements, according to Dr. Amin Majaj, hospital director:

* Replaced all beds with French-made stainless steel beds;

* Installed a central oxygen, air and vacuum system with every hospital bed having immediate access;

* A wireless paging system which can reach doctors and technicians within a radius of 30 kilometers.

* Emphasis was placed on the hospital's laboratory. It was supplied with an advanced computerised equipment.

* A coronary care unit equipped with five monitored beds;

* Three new elevators replaced deteriorating equipment;

* A bio-medical engineering department with two trained engineers conduct preventative and regular maintenance on hospital equipment. This department will save the hospital much money that was previously paid to Israeli engineers who, according to the Palestinians, used to fix the equipment using old spare parts while billing the hospital for new ones;

* An advanced library with up-to-date medical journals and audio-visual equipment;

* A midwifery school (the only such school in the West Bank);

* A blood bank that serves all West Bank hospitals after the Israeli authorities closed the blood bank in the old city of Jerusalem.

The laboratory is headed by Dr. Aida Nur al-Din, world-renowned for his work on hormones. Dr. Nur al-Din, who spends three months a year abroad on research, is working with the hospital administration to turn the laboratory into a reference laboratory where difficult tests can be checked

Community Stand

Despite the many improvements in the hospital, relations with the community remain uneasy. Many individuals claim that after he took over as head of the society, Hibbiyye cleared the administrative committee of all his opponents. Others claim that appointments are made on a personal interest basis. Mahmoud Hibbiyye was unavailable to reply to these allegations because he is out of the country. His deputy in the administrative committee, Issa Rizek, refused to give an interview to *Al Fajr*, preferring "not to be involved in sensitive matters." When contacted, hospital president, Dr. Majaj, denied the allegations. "We have a hospital council consisting of department heads and myself. We make recommendations for second grade jobs and higher to the society. Lower grade jobs are controlled by me," he explained.

The hospital president, known for his research on anemia in refugee children, insists that all hirings and firings are done on a professional basis. Majaj, however, did concede that early on the administrative committee did interfere in the hospital affairs. "But in the past two years almost every request that we have recommended has been granted. Whatever we have asked for we have received."

No Real Progress

Although the improvements in the equipment and facilities cannot be denied, some medical experts claim that the hospital has not really made any professional or quality improvements during the past years.

Dr. Samir Katbeh, head of the West Bank Doctor's Association, says that the hospital has not improved in the professional level of care provided for patients. Katbeh, who has been involved in the controversy since its start, insists that he is taking sides neither with Hibbiyye and his group, nor with the Jordanians." We need to have a hospital with responsibilities clearly assigned and scientific criteria as the basis for policy making."

Patient Care

Perhaps the most important area to look at in any hospital is the personal medical care patients receive. Patients complain that the hospital staff often treat their patients in a routine way, performing services grudgingly. Dr. Majaj replies that nurses available to the hospital are not trained sufficiently. "That is why I have been fighting for so long to have a nursing school that gives a year diploma curriculum," said Majaj.

Nursing schools at Bethlehem University and the Arab College of Nursing provide three year BS certificates in nursing. Majaj said that after 10 years the Kollek Jerusalem municipality has finally issued a permit for Makassed to build a nursing school across the street from the present hospital building.

Jalal Odeh, a part time technican working in Makassed's laboratory, says that in reality patients have no fool-proof protection. "The patient is only protected as long as the hospital's department heads are on top of things." "The doctor's association here in the West Bank is not active in upholding high standards," he said.

Dr. Katbeh confirms that the association is not involved at the professional level in Makassed, but he blamed the hospital's administration for not keeping in constant touch with them. "We are always available to help and guide, but the hospital prefers to be independent of our interference. We cannot force ourselves on the hospital," he explained.

Hospital Fees

One often-heard complaint concerns the high cost of overnight medical care. Makassed provides patients with relatively inexpensive medical care but even this fee is high for poor Palestinians. The hospital has a social worker who checks the financial condition of patients often discounting or disregarding fees for needy patients. Released prisoners, families of martyrs, individuals hurt during demonstrations and residents of the Golan Heights are usually treated without charge.

Complaining patients and their families, however, claim that they are often not admitted unless they pay the fees, grudging employees not allowing them a chance to appeal for financial discounts. One Jerusalem resident, Saker Salaimeh, says that his name was placed on the paying-list after he wrote a slightly critical opinion of the hospital in a local paper. Salaimeh, who suffers from asthma, said that he discovered this change in status when he came for emergency treatment after midnight one night. He was not admitted until he was able to come up with the cash which he had to borrow from another patient.

Hospital officials deny that there is discrimination in awarding financial aid. The hospital's social worker often runs a check on the help applications and discovers that the claimed need is not valid. One often repeated case of disagreement over fees is connected to the hospital birth of Jerusalemites. Expectant mothers are awarded a maternity grant from the Jerusalem municipality. Trying to keep the money, individuals often apply for financial reductions claiming that they are unable to pay.

As the controversy drags on, the hospital continues to work and patients, many of whom get free medical treatment if their financial situation deems it so, support the hospital and consider it a towering national institution. It is hard to tell whether the absence of Hibbiyye would, in fact, produce any better improvements than those introduced by him. One point every one agrees on is that Hibbiyye's presence has brought the money in. Would it continue if he were not around?

View From Mt. Jerzim

by Amos Elon

NABLUS — At the southern entry to Nablus we see a new, wide road which has been opened in the mountains among the olive trees to the west. The road winds up the top of Mount Jerzim from its south-eastern side. Bulldozers and road rollers are still working on it. It is now open for transport and these days the traffic is not light.

The road leads to a Nahal (Military-Agricultural unit in the army) settlement called Brahah Aleph (A). Two other nearby hills are slated for Brahah Bet (B) and Brahah Gimel (C). For this purpose, the army took over 3800 dunums. This week constructors and surveyors strolled around the area, and one sees construction workers and prefabricated houses in the shadow of military firing positions. The ex-Defence Minister, Ariel Sharon, who visited here last Tuesday, prophesied a great future for what will become Upper Nablus. Some others call it Kiryat Shem, reminiscent of Kiryat Arba.

A local informant compared it to Upper Nazareth and talked about a plan to settle 3000 Jews here by 1985. (In addition, other settlements will surround Nablus from the south and from the east). Some settlers will find employment in Netanya; others will work in the planned local factories of the optic and electronic industries. All this — a vision for the future. But in the meantime, soldiers place barbed wire rolls on the roadside from where you can see the full panorama of Nablus. Views, barbed wire — there is much of both here. Looking down, we see Nablus, over-populated with over 100,000 people. Looking straight ahead, we see the new Elon Moreh on Jabal Kabir, where the settlers were removed as we know (some by helicopter) from the original site in Rujeeb. After the famous Supreme Court verdict (the only case in which a land grab has been outlawed), there is a new draconian interpretation of the law which removed many legal limitations. The areas around Rujeeb are again slated for settlement. Facing Upper Nablus are the planned sites of Elon Moreh Bet, Gimil, Dalet (B, C, D). Not far from there to the north are planned Tirtza and her daughters, Tirtza Bet, Tirtza Gimel. Part of the land has already been taken and closed.

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From the summit of Jerzim you can see the preparation with the naked eye. Bulldozers have opened new roads in all directions. The landscape is cut through with roadlines. There are not many observation points like this. On a clear day, it's possible to see from here almost all of **Eretz Israel**. To the south, you can see Jerusalem. To the west, the coast. To the east, the Gilaad and Moab mountains above the Jordan Valley. To the north, through the mist, is Mount Carmel and the Galilee. And sometimes, the snow-capped shoulder of Mount Hermon.

It is only 30 kilometers from here to Jordan, 40 to Netanya, 50 to Jerusalem. In his famous geographical history, George Adam Smith in the 19th century was ecstatic over the fantastic view of this land and over the fact that a small country like this had had such a great impact on the history of the world.

But standing here today among the rolls of barbed wire and firing positions above sprawling Nablus, you can only be shocked by the drives which push us to force ourselves with the arm of power — impulsive, drunk with power — into a crowded Arab population from whom we take their basic civil freedoms, their public and private land. In the last weeks, there was no day without disturbances in Nablus, and some were bloody. The papers in Israel hardly ever report these incidents. A passer-by sees the closed iron gates of the Qasabeh quarter and the political graffiti on the walls, such as "Yes to the Revolution and Armed Struggle," and "Justice and Human Rights," and "Death to the Co-opted."

* * *

The journalists run to Khalde, Kiryat Shmona and Washington — but the important story, and the fatal one from our point of view, is happening here. Here around Nablus the possibility to redivide **Eretz Israel** among the two people living here is being sabotaged (maybe forever). Here they close in our faces now, and maybe forever, what is called the Jordanian option. Here they decide, and maybe forever, whether the peace with Egypt will hold or disintegrate because of refusal to grant full autonomy to the Palestinians as we promised at Camp David. Here is being decided whether we will have peace with our neighbours from the East or whether we will continue to go — we and our children — from bloody war to bloody war.

Here around Nablus we are now shaping the character of Israeli society. It is not anymore more or less democratic than it was before the creeping expropriation. Today we are "the democracy of the rulers." And we are proceeding — because of what is happening here around Nablus and the other cities and villages of the West Bank — in the direction of an apartheid regime. We have already two legal, judicial and administrative systems. One is free for the Israelis and the other is totalitarian for the Arab residents from the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The first enjoy freedom of speech, writing, and publication; the second don't. And if they open their mouths the regime may impose unlimited imprisonment on them or deport them from the country.

The former are punished for actions, the latter for opinions. The former are allowed to move freely, to own property, and to settle anywhere in **Eretz Israel**, while the latter are forbidden this and their places of residence are limited. This is exactly what happened to the Jews in Czarist Russia and what is happening now to the Blacks in South Africa. The former are living in a parliamentary republic; the latter under the absolute authority of a Military Governor. The former are living in a state of law, more or less; the latter in a police state which acts on unjustified orders without any supervision. The former are protected by the police from hooligans and troublemakers and the latter are exposed to the violence of private militias who take the law in their own hands, who arrest people illegally, destroy homes, take property, desecrate holy places. The former are considered to be living in their own land and they preach to the latter to emigrate for their own and their rulers' good: who remembers where such things happened recently to the Jews?

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The crucial story of our life these days is here and also in our continued ignorance and refusal to become aware. There is a sort of instinctive recoiling from seeing things as they are. We repress them from our consciousness. Many, maybe the majority of Israeli society, are indifferent to the political and moral implications like many decent Germans were when the Nazis came to power. When was the last time the Knesset discussed the situation in the territories, or when did a university senate discuss the arbitrary closures of West Bank universities?

Instead of this, Professor Milson, one of the people who closed Bir Zeit University, has been elected to the Hebrew University Senate. The moral indifference of an Israeli higher education institution and one of its professors was never so clear as in this situation. Most of the Israeli media, despite their aggressiveness and critical approach in other areas, hide vital information from their audience.

They take an active part in the process of indifference and repression. Zvi Bar'el from **Haaretz**, Rafiq Halabi from the new weekly, **Koteret Rashit** (with less intensiveness), and also Dani Rubinstein from **Davar** — they are the only journalists who give events on the West Bank a serious, current and basic coverage, without reservations. On the other hand, the major afternoon newspapers with high distribution rates, systematically ignore the events on the West Bank and Gaza Strip, especially events which can disturb the silence of hypocritical bourgeois and pleasure-loving society.

The radio and TV in recent months give the impression of being from another planet. Yehuda Ya'ari (Israel TV Arab affairs reporter) disappeared. It is no accident that Rafiq Halabi's voice was also silenced from TV — Halabi was actually forced to take leave. It is no accident that he found a refuge in **Koteret Rashit**. Since then, the news managers repress the West Bank from their consciousness. The scandal raised last month by a member of the Board of Directors about a moderate report about Hebron — strictly censored — explains why. (Translation: Haaretz, 4. 2. 83)

TWO RULES OF LAW

THREE ISRAELI JOURNALISTS EXAMINE THE DOUBLE STANDARDS— SOME SAY THE LAWLESSNESS— OF ISRAELI GOVERNMENT, SETTLER AND MILITARY CONTROL OVER THE WEST BANK.

The Dominion of Arbitrariness

by Dani Rubinstein

Two weeks ago, I drove in the late afternoon from Jerusalem to Beer Sheba on the Hebron road. A few kilometers outside Hebron, the road was empty. After I passed the Samu'¬Dura junction, I don't remember seeing a single car on the road. It was 8 pm. Just before Dhahriyeh, there was a roadblock and a soldier shivering from the cold. He told me that it was strictly forbidden to stop in the village. A week before, stones were thrown at a military vehicle hitting a woman, Esther Unana from Beit Sha'an (Beisan). As a result, the military authorities put a curfew on the village which has already lasted 20 days.

I drove fast through the center of the empty village and a volley of big stones were thrown at my car. I was alone in the car and was a little frightened. The dark road was littered with stones. I drove off the road and removed some of the stones and continued. After a hundred meters, I stopped at another roadblock and told the soldiers about the stone throwing. One of them said, "there are always problems here."

This week, Esther Unana died and Shlomo Avirgil (a Netivot settlement resident) was killed in Gaza. On Tuesday, Israel Radio reported the "warning visit" arranged by a few people from Kiryat Arba to the curfewed Dhahriyeh, at which Rabbi Levinger announced over loudspeakers that "Jewish blood will never be desecrated."

Later, a settler interviewed on the radio angrily asked why a big fuss was made over Emil Greenzweig (Peace Now activist killed recently) and why the Knesset had a special debate about it, while there was no similar reaction to the murder in Dhahriyeh.

In his voice you could hear a complaint about discrimination between blood and blood.

One day later, the residents of Netivot demonstrated in the town to protest the death of a resident in Gaza. Rabbi Levinger and some other settlers published an announcement about the decline in the security situation in the occupied territories, claiming that security committees from the settlements will take the law into their own hands to protect Jewish settlers and bring order to the West Bank and Gaza.

I bring this description as a short introduction to the subject of the imposition of Israeli law on the West Bank and Gaza. People who criticise this situation call it "the rule of lawlessness." I think it is more appropriate to call it 'a dominion of arbitrariness.' The signs of this new dominion are gradually expanding across the "Green Line" (which no longer exists). The murder of Emil Greenzweig, as many have pointed out, is only the beginning. This dominion of arbitrariness enables settlers to do almost anything to the inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza. It is certain that anything can be done to those who demonstrate and injure Israelis within the frame of the law, or any other code (like the shootings by the settlers). It is obvious that it is easy to amend laws — or to impose new military orders which are as good as laws.

To close an area, a verbal order by an officer will do: that is what happened when a Peace Now group decided to demonstrate in Hebron, against Kiryat Arba settlers who destroyed houses and electricity pylons.

Prolonged curfews, searches, restrictions on movement, arrests, prohibitions on the expression of ideas, interrogations, humiliations, arbitrary orders, and bullying are daily occurrences and are carried out within the framework of the law. Settlers, on the one hand, and the armed Village League militias, on the other, work as volunteers to "protect" the dominion of arbitrariness.

These groups have no problem in arresting any Arab on the West Bank on any charge. Usually, the arrested will be accused of taking part in a political meeting which is illegal; having a picture of Yasir Arafat, or having Samih al-Qassem poems, which are considered inciting material. And if they decided not to put him in jail, because of the expense of maintaining a prisoner and lack of space for Arabs in jail (according to the chief of staff), they order him to come to the military authority building again and again and to wait in the yard for days or weeks. These are part of the arbitrary orders which are called 'law' on the West Bank. This 'law' changes according to the requirements of the annexation policy and according to the needs of the settlements.

The "Higher Committee for Planning," which approves construction plans on the West Bank, is administered by military officers and Israeli civilians. Its legal functions can be stated in one sentence: 'to limit and reduce, by legal means, any construction for the 800,000 inhabitants of the West Bank and to enlarge and develop building for the Jewish settlers.'

The whole area from north Ramallah to Gush Etzion was declared a planning zone, more than a year ago. But every Arab encounters difficulties in trying to build a house in this area. Huge areas were declared agricultural zones, nature reserves, or "special areas." The military authorities make efforts to declare each Arab construction project illegal. But the buildings for the settlers based on the principle "get as much as you can" are all legal.

Once, the dismissed mayor of al-Bireh, Ibrahim Tawil, complained to the governor about the confiscation of land from his municipality for the Psagot settlement. The governor looked at him with amazement and told him, according to Tawil, "leave me alone." Recently, a special patrol has been organised by the Gush Emunim, heavily financed by the government, in the name of preserving law. Its members will impose the new construction laws.

These are a few examples of an order of social rule, imposed on the third of *Eretz Israel* which was occupied in 1967. It is a new order, a "legal" rule of repression and discrimination against Arabs who don't want our rule. Anyone in Israel who is not ready to accept this permanent, arbitrary and discriminatory rule is accused of being a person who helps and protects Arabs. The attitude of such Israelis is not only fascist Rabbi Meir Kahane's and the Gush Emunim's, who actually rule over the West Bank, or the street hooligans, who attack every demonstration and people collecting signatures on petitions for Peace Now, (liberal-Zionist) Shinui, (Citizens Rights Movement) RATZ and (left-Zionist) MAPAM. It is also the attitude of the heads of the government, speakers for the coalition, MKs and ministers. Consciously or unconsciously, they extend the rule of arbitrariness from Nablus and Hebron to Tel Aviv or, in simple words, from East to West Jerusalem.

On this basis, it is possible to understand the Kiryat Arba residents who went to Dhahriyeh and got angry about the big fuss over the killing of Emil Greenzweig (who, they and their friends call, together with his movement, 'PLO agents') while the killing of Esther Unana and Shlomo Avirgil, by PLO supporters, was ignored.

The war against the Arabs in the occupied territories has been intensified and has become a war against those who appear to be their supporters in Israel. The range of the arbitrary dominion will not stop at the amputated legs of Bassam Shaka'a in Nablus. It will also reach those who are taken for being his supporters in Tel Aviv, whose purpose is not exactly to help Shaka'a, but rather to save us from the ugly destiny of the rule of occupation and repression. (Translation: Davar, 18. 2. 1983)

A PRESS IN CHAINS

by Zvi Bar'el

Almost every day on its sixth page, *Al Fajr* publishes a crossword puzzle. At first, this seems normal. The reader has to find the names of actors, villages and cities and sometimes fill in letters to complete a line. Especially interesting are the graphics. Drawings usually convey a meaning, an expression, or a faot to the reader which can't be conveyed in other ways because of strict censorship.

For example, the day after publication of the Kahan Comision report, the blacked out squares formed the two letters S.S. A week before, the word *huriyya* (liberty) was formed and a week before, the letter 'F' (FATAH). All these tricks consistently point out that a national struggle cannot be silenced, even if writing about it is forbidden.

The eighth page of *Al Fajr* is for the youth among the 8000 subscribers. It also caters to sports fans, horoscope readers, and lovers of gossip. There is also a puzzle on this non-political page. Like the sixth, the eighth page must not strengthen national awareness. I mean that this puzzle, as well as the sports news and the death notices, also has to be approved by the censor.

This newspaper, and the other two papers which appear in East Jerusalem and are distributed on the West Bank, are called, in Arabic press jargon, the "open press", in contrast to underground leaflets. True, there is another newspaper, *Al Anba*, also printed in Jerusalem, but the attitude toward this paper, according to the newspaper sellers, is that it is governmental propaganda and not worth spending money on.

Printing and distribution licenses for the "open" papers are issued by the 'civil administration', which has the right to close down and restrict the newspapers. Legally speaking, the papers are subject to the same rights and duties as every Israeli paper. The difference shows up in practice. While the Israeli papers only send articles which have to do with security to the censor, East Jerusalem papers have to send everything. The *Al Fajr* editor told me, "I sometimes have to prepare material for one and a half papers in order to get one full paper printed. Despite these obstacles, *Al Fajr* is considered to be the most active press in the field. The newspaper publishes an English edition every Friday, which is popular among foreign journalists and diplomats who rely on its information. Its distribution is relatively low, only 2000 papers a week. But its importance lies in its audience. In the near future, *Al Fajr* will expand its influence through its youngest sister, the Hebrew edition, which will provide an exact picture of what is happening in the occupied territories to the Israeli public, and to strengthen the connection between the Palestinian people and Israelis. It is now possible to get the paper in some kiosks, but its main distribution is to kibbutzim and a few academic institutions. A scoop for the Hebrew *Al Fajr* was the interview by publisher Paul Ajlouny (who lives in the United States) with Israeli prisoners of war in Lebanon.

Despite *Al Fajr's* varied activities, *Al Quds* is the best selling paper on the West Bank and in East Jerusalem. *Al Quds'* first edition in 1968 succeeded in creating the impression among readers: "If you have read *Al Quds*, you've read it all." The authorities' attitude to *Al Quds* is a little different — censorship affects it less. When all of the newspapers were closed by the Israeli military authority during the war, *Al Quds* was exempted. The editor and owner of the paper, Mahmoud Abu Zuluf, keeps a good relationship with the "license signers". This relationship doesn't always succeed in preventing harm to the paper.

The third newspaper, *Al Shaab*, suffers most from censorship. The paper has been prohibited from distribution in the West Bank for the last seven months. The editor, Ali Yaish, tried unsuccessfully to contact the 'civil administration' to have the order cancelled. Scheduled meetings were cancelled, indirect contact with the authorities via friends was fruitless, and the mediation of a lawyer did not help. The official reason given for the prohibition is "security reasons." Actually, the reason is a censorship offense. Mr Yaish claimed that no one showed him the articles or information responsible for the prohibition.

Today the paper is only distributed in East Jerusalem. With despair, he told me that he doesn't know how long he will be able to support the paper from his family's resources. Since the prohibition, advertisements have fallen by half. He adds, "It seems that the new Israeli method is to force the closure of the papers. They limit distribution which will lead to closure for financial reasons, so they will not be blamed directly."

Limiting *Al Shaab's* distribution doesn't exempt it from censorship. *The Jerusalem Post* which is also printed in "united Jerusalem", is exempt from the censors' scissors. These limitations and decrees on the "open" Arab press create a situation in which the papers cover less and less news and information. The censor sometimes even cuts articles translated from the Israeli press or radio.

These papers should become a public stage for expressing ideas and thoughts, according to their political orientations, and their audiences. In this atmosphere, a newspaper becomes a very important medium for a publisher to instill ideas and to influence public opinion. One journalist told me, "Today's public is no longer limited to the intelligentsia. Villagers, women, workers and the youth are the major readers, and these people will be the ones, when the day comes, to decide our political future. We don't yet have our own government and state, which we can criticise, as every other press does. Our task is to prepare a wise and thinking people with political awareness and the ability to decide."

"It is possible that, without present limitations, and the need for sophisticated political strategies to cope with the censors' scissors, we wouldn't have reached the point where we can expose a complete political idea with one letter in a crossword puzzle."

(Translation: Haaretz)

Psagot settlement, al-Bireh

This week's article on Israel's Research and Political Planning Center and the Israeli Police Force is the final part in our 10-part series excerpted from a 1979 CIA and State Department document originally published in *CounterSpy* magazine.

What Reagan and Begin Didn't Want You to Know Part X

Israel's Political Planning Center and the National Police

Research and Political Planning Center

The Research and Political Planning Center, formerly the Research Division in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, prepares analysis based on raw intelligence for government policymakers. Its office is located in a separate fenced compouned within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs complex in Jerusalem. A guard at the compound gate prevents unauthorized entrance into the Center, and photo ID cards are required for admittance.

The Foreign Minister uses the Center as his personal braintrust to give him an independent means of judging the products of Military Intelligence and Mossad.

The Center presently employs fewer than 100 people, both analysts and support staff, who were recruited from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Israeli universities. The Center has six divisions. North Africa; the Fertile Crescent; the Arabian Peninsula; other Geographic Regions; Economic; and Strategic. Some 70 percent of the Center's personnel are employed in the three Arab units. The Center prepares its analyses on the basis of raw intelligence data available to the Israeli intelligence community. The Center produces short papers on current intelligence and longer analytical memoranda, as required. The Center's products are disseminated to all ministries of the government.

The Foreign Minister uses the Center as his personal braintrust to give him an independent means of judging the products of Military Intelligence and Mossad. Although its analyses are sent to Israel's top decision makers, the Center reportedly has few problems arising from competition within the community, probably because of a lack of status in comparison with the established and larger intelligence and security organizations.

The National Police

The Israeli Police Force is a national organization headed by an Inspector General responsible to the Minister of the Interior. The national headquarters moved in mid-1969 from Tel Aviv-Yafo to Jerusalem. The force is comprised of the following departments: (1) Administration, which is responsible for transport, supplies, communications, property and finances; (2) Investigations, which is concerned with criminal and fraud investigations and special tasks in support of the intelligence and security community; and (3) Operations, which is in charge of training, patrols and traffic. There are also personnel, research, planning and development offices. The Prison Services and the Civil Guard are also part of the Police.

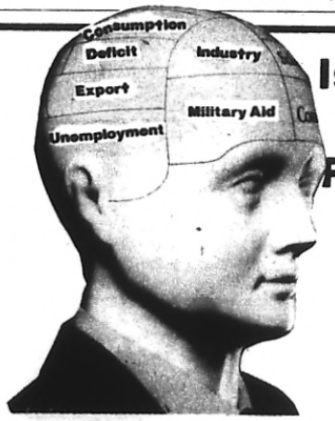
The force is divided territorially into districts, subdistricts, zones, police stations and posts. The three police districts are: Northern, including Haifa; Tel Aviv; and Southern, including Jerusalem. Attached to the Haifa subdistrict is a small coast guard or marine police force, which is based in the port of Haifa and patrols the whole coastline to prevent smuggling, infiltration, and illegal fishing. This unit also has patrol craft on Lake Tiberias and at Elat on the Gulf of Aqaba. The Southern District includes a special unit at Ben Gurion (Lod) airport.

The effective strength of the police force (not including the Border Guard) reached about 12,000 at the end of 1969. Roughly 1,100 of the police, including 768 Arabs, were employed in the Administered Territories in 1969. Over half the police force are Jews of Oriental background and, in fact, the police force is a branch of government to which the assignment of Oriental Jews has been particularly encouraged.

The police force is capable of maintaining public order and safety under normal circumstances. It has, however, been troubled by a manpower shortage caused by resignations resulting from low pay, overwork and the attraction of higher paying jobs elsewhere. Despite the persistent shortage of manpower, police discipline is generally satisfactory and, in the case of the Border Guard, excellent. The public attitude toward the police has improved since the early days of statehood, despite scandals involving smuggling and the acceptance of bribes. The police force has worked hard to overcome the traditional Jewish fear of police authority stemming from the historic oppression of Jews. The Israeli Police Force in effect acts as a very important auxiliary to Shin Beth in the preservation of internal security throughout the country. The police support Shin Beth in investigations, by providing cover and making arrests.

The Border Guard works closely with the Army and patrols the Administered Territories and the border areas. It also trains settlers in defense measures against infiltrators...

A special component of the national police force is the Border Guard, whose mission is to guard the ceasefire lines against Arab infiltration and to detect and run down terrorists. It works closely with the Army and patrols the Administered Territories and the border areas. The Border Guard also trains settlers in defense measures against infiltrators, and schedules guard duty in border villages. Military conscripts who elect to fulfill their term of service by joining the Border Guard are the principal sources of new recruits for this component. The Border Guard, which numbers about 6,000, is integrated into the Army in time of war.



Israel's Economy: Foreign Debt High, Exports Low

To the extent that the economy plays a role in determining the political views of Israeli citizens, two indicators – low unemployment and improved living standards – explain why the Begin government does not face real domestic opposition.

At the end of 1982, approximately five percent of the labour force, about 65,000 people, were unemployed and only about 13,000 of them drew unemployment benefits from the national insurance. This rate of unemployment has not changed since the end of 1979. At the same time, living standards, as measured by *per capita* private consumption, increased during 1982 by about five percent after an increase of nine percent during 1981.

Economists have for many years predicted that, in the long run, Israel will have to come to terms with its real problems. Here are some of the real problems:

By the end of 1982, Israel accumulated a foreign debt of about US $26 billion. This year, Israel will have to pay its creditors about US $3 billion. In 1982, the deficit in the balance of payments increased by about US $500 million. Imports are now more than 60 percent of the gross national product.

These figures, however, do not reflect the whole story of the Israeli economy. For a deeper analysis one should differentiate between the military and civilian sectors of the economy.

Defence Spending

There are no official figures as to the number of people employed by the military. There are two budgets, one for local expenditures and the other for purchases abroad. Almost all military equipment imported – about US $2 billion in 1982 – is financed by grants and loans from the US. The import figures for a particular year depend more on the availability of certain types of arms than on the availability of cash. Therefore, the fact that the US has increased military aid to Israel in 1983 is not reflected in the 1983 budget. By reducing imports by about US $300 million the government can exhibit a relative decline in defence spending this year from 29 percent of the budget in 1982 to 24 percent in 1983. Local defence expenditures are increasing mainly because of the war in Lebanon and the expenses of keeping a large army in that country.

One problem now facing the government is the decline in military exports. Fewer countries are now willing to buy Israeli military products. Some industries, especially Israel Aviation Industries (IAI) which is the largest corporation in Israel, have begun sacking workers. Only now have officials come to see the growing dependence on military exports. The government is now trying to restrict such exports to about a quarter of industrial exports.

The Civilian Economy

During 1982, the economy began to feel the world recession. For the first time the volume of exports declined by about five percent . The balance of payments in the civilian economy showed more than a US $1 billion increase in the deficit. An increase of US $370 million is envisaged for 1983. This development shows that the civilian sector of the economy finds it harder and harder to finance the military sector.

The increased deficits in the civilian sector result from two developments: lower exports, which are the outcome of the world recession, and a result of a foreign exchange policy favoring imports designed to curb inflation, which is running at about 130 percent. The finance ministry and the Central

continued on page 13

The Music Man

by Said al-Ghazali

Samih Mourad Chelico, now teacher of music and choir at Dar al-Tifl school, Jerusalem, has adored music from his childhood. His primary talents and adoration of music first began to express themselves at the Lutheran school in Bethlehem, to which he moved, aged 7, from Jerusalem with his family in 1948. Teacher Tawfiq Suror gave him his first lessons in music. Later, Samih Mourad taught himself.

In 1957 he obtained a certificate in music (theory and practice) from the Jordanian ministry of education. He formed the Golden Tune Band in 1961.

Samih Mourad now teaches piano, organ and accordion in schools, institutes and clubs. He has been band director at several festivals.

Al Fajr: **When and how did you start practising music?**

A: I was 10-years-old when I started playing the accordion at home. My uncle, Jabra Ibrahim Jabra, a well-known literary critic and novelist, enjoyed various kinds of music. He gave me the habit of listening to music. At school, my teacher of music, Tawfiq Suror taught the primary principles of music for three months. At first, I was affected by the light and classical music. I liked Beethoven's depth, Mozart and Chopin. Arab musicians such as Abd al-Wahab, Farid al-Atrash, and the Rahabani brothers who manipulated Western classical music, transforming it into an Eastern style.

Al Fajr: **How would you describe the condition of music education in the West Bank?**

A: We have to confess that we are still at an early stage. Arab musicians and singers have done very well. Ashin, the Syrian band, is giving splendid performances. Marcel Khalifeh, Ahmad Dahbour, Mustafa Kurd and my student, George Qurmoz, are good, talented singers who have developed Palestinian songs. So far, music in West Bank schools has not been taken seriously. By and large, teachers of music graduated in other subjects. In many classes, students waste time by making jokes. I, myself, started teaching music seriously in several schools after 1967. Before then, I worked in a bank because I could not earn my living by teaching.

I think it was a coincidence or a mistake that in 1957 the Jordanian ministry of education published ads for a music examination. At that time, I used to teach music at the Scientific Centre in Jerusalem. I seized the opportunity and applied for the exam.

Al Fajr: **What about your performances in the unlimited world of music?**

A: After finishing my personal studies in music, several musical artists, players and drummers, Anton Mikhael, Francois Nokodim, Mike Roke and I, formed the Golden Tune Ban in 1961. We used to sing and play tango music and continental music at hotels and clubs. In 1978 we decided to stop working because the artistic level began to disappear after the spread of modern electric musical instruments. In the past, a player used to study for 10 years until he became a skilled player, but now the western electrical instrument does the work of the player.

In 1965, I started teaching music privately and in clubs. Through my work at Dar al-Tifl and Talitha Kumi schools, I formed, in 1978, a band and choir entitled *Zuhour Filastin* (Palestine's flowers). The band is made up of preparatory and secondary school pupils. This group concentrates on the Palestinian and Arab musical heritage. It has participated in many festivals at West Bank universities and on national occasions.

Samih Mourad Chelico and students/ SF

Every year I discover among my women students talented and gifted musicians who will surely make very mature musicians in the future. For instance, Isparansa Mahmoud from Kobar, the main player in *Zuhour Filastin* has a splendid readiness to learn music. I advised her to continue her on with her music studies.

Isparansa Mahmoud, 16, studying at Dar al-Tifl, who was practising in the music hall during the interview, commented, "Samih Mourad, my teacher, taught me that music is not writing or memorizing. I like to listen to music and Samih discovered my talent and let them flow." Samih Mourad continues: I created choirs at Dar al-Tifl, Ibrahimiya, Fatiyat al-Lajiat and Shabaat al-Muslimaat schools.

After the international day for the child in 1981, I thought of writing song books for children and the students in schools. The problem I faced was that there were no notes or words. No local printing house could type-set music. I partially solved this problem by borrowing the tunes of the major Palestinian musician Salvador Arneita. I wrote out the scores in the two books by hand.

Al Fajr: **How do you choose the words for your music?**

A: Initially, I compose new tunes alone by playing my favourite musical instrument, the piano. Then I search out words which suit my tune. The words I choose are mainly light in rhythm and easy to understand.

Al Fajr: **What's your final word to young musicians?**

A: I want to tell them that they must learn to read music. Most players in the West Bank learn by ear. I believe that talent is not enough. Practice and study are important to polish the talent.

* * * * *

Samih Mourad Chelico composed all of the choral pieces for first grade student books, as well as some in the first and second books of *Children's Songs*. Some of his other works are collected in *Selected Song Tunes*.

His music books are distributed on the West Bank. The books contain instructions to music teachers on methods of teaching music in schools. He has taped the first and second parts of *Children's Songs* and the choir pieces for first grade students. He has also recorded cassettes of *Zuhour Filastin* concerts.

Mother's Inheritance

Mother,
You did not leave me an inheritance of
necklaces for a wedding
but a neck
that towers above the guillotine
Not an embroidered veil for my face
but the eyes of a flacon
that glitter like the daggers
in the belts of our men.
Not a piece of land large enough
to plant a single date palm
but the primal fruit of The Fertile Crescent
My Womb.
You let me sleep with all the children
of our neighbourhood
that my agony may give birth
to new rebels

In the bundle of your will
I thought I could find
a seed from The Garden of Eden
that I may plant in my heart
forsaken by the season
Instead
You left me with a sheathless sword
the name of an obscure child carved on
its blade
Every pore in me
every crack
opened up:
A sheath

I plunged the sword into my heart
but the wall could not contain it
I thrust it into my lungs
but the window could not box it
I dipped it into the streets
defoliating the decorations
of offical holidays
Tilling asphalt
Announcing the season of
The Coming Feast

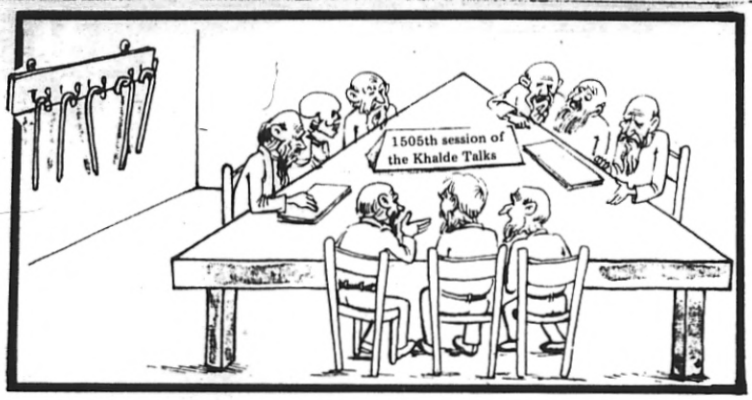
Mother,
Today, they came to confiscate the inheritance
you left me.
They could not decipher the children's
fingerprints
They could not walk the road that stretches
between the arteries of my heart
and the cord that feeds the babe
in every mother's womb.
They seized the children of the neighborhood
for interrogation
They could not convict the innocence
in their eyes.
They searched my pockets
took off my clothes
peeled my skin
But they failed to reach
the glistening silk that nestles
the twin doves
in my breast

Fawziyya Abu Khalid

Before the ghost of the veil started haunting my life the June War broke out... June 1967 was the blade over which I walked barefoot from childhood into womanhood... Since then I I was realising at every step that the chains of my people are heavier then the chastity belt.

From a July 1976 letter by Fawziyya Abu Khalid. Born in Riyad, Saudi Arabia in 1955 to a traditional Beduin family, she left the country to study at AUB and in the US. Her first book of poetry, including poems she wrote before the age of 18 was banned from Saudi Arabia.

WINDOW ON THE ARAB PRESS



The continued harassment by Israeli settlers of West Bank Palestinians was given major prominence in local papers this week. Settler attacks on Hebronites and the Israeli army's decision to dismantle a Kach settlement received major coverage.

The New Delhi summit of non-aligned countries and the meetings of Egypt's Mubarak and Jordan's Hussein, as well as India's Indira Ghandi's speech supporting Palestinian rights were given prominence by **Al Quds** and **Al Fajr** dailies respectively.

On the visit of former US President Carter to the area, and his meetings with Israeli officials and certain Palestinian personalities, **Al Fajr** and **Al Shaab** strongly critisised the politician, recalling his role in drafting the Camp David accords as well as his continued opposition to the PLO and achievement of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

Two Options Before The Arabs

The Syrian SAM-5 missiles and US protest over them exemplify the true position of both countries on the conflict in this region and indicate the two opposing paths facing the Arabs, from which they must make a choice.

The US opposes increasing Syrian military capability because it wants to perpetuate the prevailing balance of power in its own and Israel's interest. It calls any improvement in the interest of Syria and the Arabs a breach of so-called stability in the region, or, in other words, an obstacle to US plans to impose a political solution based on the existing balance of power.

Thus, the true position of those Arab leaders who rely on the US is revealed. It confirms that in accepting this dependence, they serve to perpetuate the balance of power in Israel's favour and that the weakness which they use to justify accepting the Reagan plan is basically self-manufactured and is the result of their links with Washington's policy in the region.

The US reaction to the Syrian SAM-5 missiles, deployed to defend Syrian air-space, means that the "peace" which Washington wants for this region is one based on Arab subjugation to American and Israeli will.

The position of the Soviet Union, part of a long chain of support for the Arab struggle, points the way which the Arab forces that really desire an honourable peace should take. By taking advantage of this position, they can be steadfast in the face of Israeli and imperialist pressures and can redress the balance in their own favour. Thus it would be possible to implement the Fez resolutions which Washington does not accept.

The Arabs have two examples to chose from: that of reliance on Washington and acceptance of submission, or that of cooperation with the Soviet Union and achievement of a just peace.

The stand Arab forces take on these two scenarios serves to evaluate the "nationalism" of all who "talk" about working in the national interest.

AL TALIA
March 3

Thoughts From A Georgia Farm

It appears that the Georgia farmer, who worked for a while as president of the United States and who has since spent his time writing a book about his "reign" and walking about the streets of his small town, has now decided to shake the dust off himself and chosen — and maybe the present US administration helped him in this choice — the Middle East as the stage on which to make his glittering come-back.

And why not...since the Middle East is the scene of the accomplishments of which Jimmy Carter is so proud — namely, the Camp David accords which he was betting on to carry him once again to the white office in the White House, before he awoke to find himself the forgotten, discarded and defeated former president of the peanut farm in Georgia.

Here he is now, back in the region, with the same old hesitation for which he is famous — one time talking about meeting PLO officials and the next day laying down conditions for such meetings.

Jimmy Carter's innovation is to announce that he does not favour — notice the phrasing — the establishment of a Palestinian state, but rather prefers links between the West Bank and Jordan.

Carter, who five years ago failed to see the facts in the region because of his ill-will and plans, to this day fails to understand that whoever searches for the path to peace in the region must pass through the Palestinian door, must deal with the Palestinians and must recognise Palestinian rights.

Continuing to feign blindness of the facts will perpetuate the state of tension in the region. Peace will not be achieved except with the attainment of Palestinian rights. This is the lesson which both the Georgia farmer, and the California cowboy ruling the White House these days, must learn.

AL SHAAB
March 4

Late Discovery

Palestinian Arabs are not the only ones in this country between the river and the sea who say that Rabbi Meir Kahane and his fascist, racist gang use terrorist methods. This has been discovered, even if late, by Knesset members who demand that the Kahane gang be outlawed after it launched terrorism and blackmail attacks against Arabs across the length and breadth of the country, in word and deed, through political leaflets, bullets and bombs.

It should be noted that those of the Kahane group accused of shooting at the house of a Hebron resident are the very same as those accused of throwing a grenade at the Peace Now demonstration in Jerusalem which led to one dead and 10 wounded.

This is an inevitable and natural outcome. If racist fascism is let loose against the Arabs, then it will certainly overturn the society in which it emerged and which allowed it to develop and live.

The first fascism did not only bring destruction on the people of the world but also on its own country and people.

Today, general harassment by settlers of West Bank residents is on the increase. A rapid end must be put to such harassment before it is really too late and the "magician is beaten by his own magic."

AL MITHAQ
March 5

Settlers Call for Natsheh's Trial

Settlers in the occupied Arab territories, especially on the West Bank, continue to provoke and harass Arab residents, even attacking schools and arresting students as well as firing at Arab houses and cars.

Yesterday, the Israeli media confirmed the news, reported in the Kiryat Arba settlers' magazine, of the decision to file a case in the "municipal court" inside the settlement against Mustafa Natsheh, acting-mayor of Hebron, on charges of violating the area under the settlers' jurisdiction by erecting electricity pylons. The "court" has subpoenaed him.

The escalation we witness nowadays in settlers' acts against the Arab residents of the occupied Arab territories coincides with the flood of extremist, fascist declarations made by Meir Kahane of Kach and his colleagues. A number of Gush Emunim leaders openly call for getting rid of the Arabs and making their life in the occupied territories so unbearable that they leave. Or if they don't, then forcing them to do so...

One can in no way separate the issue of the Kiryat Arba settlement council from this increased harassment and provocation by the settlers against our people in the occupied territories...

It is obvious that this step is another on the ladder of escalation aimed at implementing the plan of enforced emigration, in the way proposed in the Kach declarations.

So far, the Israeli occupation has done everything according to a law. It issues military or legal orders or decrees them to give a veneer of legitimacy to any order it wants to make. It's logical that Gush Emunim or Kach movement settlers will also try to find a law and use the judicial system in order to achieve their settlement aims and their racist ideology.

We can bet on one thing: our people will not emigrate, not only because there is nowhere for them to go, but because they learned what 'moving' means and have gotten fed up with it.

As long as we do not emigrate, these acts of harassment will lead only to more hatred and bad feelings, and will remove any hope or chance of achieving a just peace based on the rights of peoples to self-determination and to live honourably.

AL FAJR
March 7

Settlements on French Hill in Jerusalem. The Jewish Agency has plans for 13 more elsewhere in the West Bank.

JEWISH AGENCY PLANS FOR 13 NEW SETTLEMENTS

The settlement branch of the Jewish Agency has completed blueprints for the establishment of nearly 12,000 housing units in various parts of the occupied West Bank, Israeli newspapers reported, February 27. The new housing units, which are planned as 13 new settlements, are to be built on privately-owned land.

The papers claimed that the land was bought by Israeli land companies from its original owners. Nevertheless, in many cases, land which Israeli companies claim to have bought, was acquired using forged documents. In one case, the press reports an Israeli magistrates court in Jerusalem returned a plot of land to its owner, Izat Abdel Muhsin Abdel Jawad from Sur Bahir, February 10, 10 years after its alleged sale to an Israeli company (Zezia).

The court's decision said the land-sale document which the Israeli land company presented was proved forged and therefore void.

In another case, residents of Dura in the Hebron district are preparing their land ownership documents in order to make a court case against an Israeli land company which took some 3000 dunums of land from the village. The landowners say that the Israeli company's alleged purchase of the land is also based on forged documents.

The new settlements, according to a Jewish Agency settlement department internal publication are:

Avni Havitz, 100 housing units, southeast of Tulkarm;

She'ari Tekva, 800 units, west of Elqana settlement, on the Nablus mountains;

Elqana 'G', 900 units, east of Elqana settlement;

Elqana 'D', 1,200 units, near the village of Sheikh Sabahi;

Haris, 600 units, at the intersection of the roads which cut through the Nablus mountains, and the road which leads to Emmanuel settlement;

Orient, 600 units, on the Nablus mountains;

Jani Moda'in, 700 units, west of Matitiyahu settlement;

Matitiyahu 'B', 1000 units, east of Matitiyahu settlement;

Ramat Kidron, 2000 units, near Khirbe Muntar village, east of Abaidiyeh;

Lev Shomron, 450 units;

Hafli Brak, 400 units;

Metzvei Yehuda, 2000 units, near al-Khan al-Ahmar;

Beitan 'B', 600 units.

continued from page 10

Israel's Economy...

Bank opted for a policy which ruined Argentina not so many years ago. It artificially prevented a depreciation of the local currency, especially vis-a-vis the European currencies. Europe absorbs about a third of Israel's exports and these have declined due to the new policy. Imports, however, became cheaper and enabled standards of living to increase.

Wages and Incomes

The increase in living standards was not spread evenly. Real wages declined last year by about three percent. Other incomes seem to have increased. Most outstanding are developments at the Tel Aviv stock exchange. The share index of all shares increased, in real terms, by 200 percent in one year. Many shares increased by three to four thousand percent. Almost half of the households invest some money in the stock exchange. Towards the end of January, the share market took a sharp dive.

The gross national product remained unchanged, in real terms, in 1982 compared to 1981. Nevertheless, official economists do not expect an increase in the number of unemployed. One might think that Israel would export unemployment to the occupied territories. This has not happened. The number of West Bank and Gaza workers employed in Israel has reached a new record. It is possible that during 1983 the decline in exports will have an impact on unemployment. However, the government is preventing government corporations from sacking too many workers. In the case of the IAI, the management wanted to sack 700 workers or 3.5 percent of the work force. The finance minister intervened and only 150 lost their jobs.

Will Israel be able to repay its debts? *Per capita*, Israel has the highest foreign debt in the world. This year the US Congress increased its aid to Israel. Such a policy reassures commercial banks which hand out about US $600 every year. With the US taxpayer backing Israel's bank account, and increasingly so, the political leadership remains unworried.

ISRAELEFT Feature

Selling Protection In South Lebanon

A not-so-sophisticated game of political extortion is underway in South Lebanon, according to *The Times* reporter Robert Fisk, where villages are being "taxed" to pay for militias pledged to support Israel and its local surrogate Saad Haddad.

More than 20 South Lebanese villages have so far formed the 10-20 men armed units, Fisk said in a report to the BBC. Weapons are subsidized by Haddad, who is, in turn, funded almost solely by Israel, and by village "loyalists." In fact, the initiative for the militias, advertised as designed to meet local needs, is entirely external. Mukhtars report that they have been asked by Haddad's men to raise payments of US $4,000-8000 per village to cover the cost of weapons. Some villages, such as Qiblin which is within the Irish UNIFIL contingent's zone, have signed on, but others, such as Haris, are unable or unwilling to pay the enormous fee.

There has been no official reaction from UNIFIL, whose peace-keeping mandate extends to some of the area involved, but the Lebanese army has retorted that the militias complicate their role and compromise their efforts to impose their authority over Lebanese soil.

According to Fisk, the militias could be intended by Israel as dependable replacements: when it does finally withdraw from Lebanon, it would like to leave behind a string of collaborators 'behind the lines,' that is within the UN and Lebanese army-controlled zones to bolster its ally, Haddad.

As for the Lebanese villagers, mostly poor Shi'ite farmers, they are worried about the consequences of turning the offer down. In one village last week, 80 people met in a late night, secret meeting to discuss the militia proposal which they say is Israeli-inspired and which they would like to reject – but how?

Students in Jerusalem-Aytam library.

Orphanage Plans Bethany Vocational-Arts School

The administration of the Aytam Orphans Vocational School began implementing a programme to establish a new vocational centre in Bethany February 1. "Towards the summer months there will be 2000 students studying at the Bethany centre," Hashem Ashayer, the principal of the Aytam school told **Al Fajr**.

Hashem Ashayer returned from Jordan January 31, after meeting **waqf** (Islamic trustees) officials who agreed on a budget for the vocational centre. It will offer 16 industrial and artistic courses including an auto electrician course, blacksmithing, surveying, bamboo furniture making, mother-of-pearl working, book-binding and carpentry.

The administration has also decided to reform the Aytam brass band and to offer courses on music performance. Carving will also be offered to students at the centre.

Hashem Assali, who graduated from the school in 1950 and continued his musical education in Egypt and England, will be the music teacher at the school. Aytam school began offering music courses in 1922 and continued until 1967. Most musician-graduates play in Jordanian army bands.

The Aytam vocational centre in Bethany will offer two and three year programmes. Those students who study for two years will have 60 percent practical courses and 40 percent theoretical courses and those students who study for three years will have 50 percent practical and 50 theoretical. Students who have passed grade nine and orphans are accepted at the vocational school.

Aytam school now has two old city, Jerusalem centres where 400 students receive education, food, clothes and pocket money. Aytam school was established in 1922 for Palestinian orphans and backed financially by charitable organisations and later by the Jordanian government.

WEEKLY REVIEW

March 2, 1983

ISRAELIS DISABLED IN LEBANON

The Israeli army magazine *Hamahaneh* said that the number of Israelis permanently disabled as a result of the invasion of Lebanon is 1100. A total of 37,000 are disabled from all Israeli wars.

SELF-EXAMINATION

The military governor of the central region ordered an investigation of a complaint by a Nablus woman that six settlers broke into her house, searched it and beat her son, claiming he threw stones at an Israeli vehicle.

FINE FOR BOMB

HAIFA — The central court fined a Shafa 'Amr resident IS75,000 for possession of a bomb. It was discovered when police searched his house in 1981.

ANOTHER TOWN ARREST RECEIVED

HEBRON — The military authorities lifted the restriction order on Samih Hashem Abu 'Aisha, former general secretary and member of the Red Crescent Society in Hebron.

MUKHTAR DISMISSED

NABLUS — The authorities dismissed Rushdi Damidi, mukhtar of Hawara village. He was summoned to 'civil administration' headquarters where his ID card and mukhtar's seal were removed.

BOMB IN NABATIYEH

BEIRUT — News agencies report that a booby-trapped car exploded near the town of Nabatiyeh in South Lebanon. Two people were wounded. Israeli sources say that the car exploded near an Israeli army post although they report that no Israeli soldier was injured in the blast. Israeli forces searched the area.

REFUSNIKS TO JAIL

TEL AVIV: AFP — The newspaper *Koteret Rashit* says that 28 Israeli soldiers have been jailed since June 1982, for refusing to serve in Lebanon.

March 3, 1983

ART EXHIBITED

JERUSALEM - An exhibition of the paintings and drawings of artist Hagop Kaplanian opened in the American Colony Hotel. It will continue until April 12.

ISRAELIS WOUNDED

TEL AVIV - The Israeli military spokesman announced that three Israeli soldiers were wounded near Damour in South Lebanon during an attack on a patrol. Lebanese TV said that an Israeli soldier was injured when an Israeli patrol was ambushed near Jouba in South Lebanon.

INTERNAL DISPUTE

The administration of the Arab University in Jerusalem removed recognition from the Arab Students Committee. The administration has said that it does not recognise groups set up by the students and that the only body representing the university students is the General Students League.

TAX RAIDS

JENIN: Tax officials fined al-Haj Naif Hussein IS25,000 after raiding his shop. They also fined Assad Hassan IS20,000 for not keeping accounts.

MILITARY RUN DOWN CIVILIAN

ANABTA - An Israeli military vehicle hit Abed Rahman Kabshawi on the main road in Anabta. He was taken to hospital and is said to be in grave condition.

SHAKA'A'S TORMENTORS REMOVED

TEL AVIV — The miliary authorities lifted the daily guard on Nablus Mayor Bassam Shaka'a's house. It has been enforced for two years.

March 4, 1983

CACHE FOUND

The Israeli police found four bazooka rockets, ready for use, near the main Jenin-Nablus road.

LAND GRAB

DEIR DIBWAN, RAMALLAH - The authorities ordered the confiscation of land from 45 Deir Dibwan families and informed them that they could claim compensation for it. The land confiscated is around 100 dunums of fertile agricultural land.

STRIKE CONTINUES

HEBRON - Prisoners in Hebron are continuing their strike because of bad conditions in the local prison. The prisoners refused to meet families as part of their protest. The families held a protest demonstration at the headquarters of the International Red Cross in Hebron and Jerusalem.

LEBANON ATTACK

SOUTH LEBANON - A group of Lebanese national resistance forces launched an attack on an Israeli military bus near the village of Burj Halih north of Sidon in South Lebanon. Newspaper reporters said that the Israeli bus was confronted by heavy fire and that the Israelis surrounded the area and caried out a wide-scale search.

ROAD BLOCKING

BEIRUT — Israeli forces continue to erect roadblocks between Beirut and Sidon and subject cars and passengers to detailed searches.

Radio Beirut said that Israeli forces have cut the main road to Sidon.

March 5, 1983

DESTRUCTION CREEPS

JERUSALEM — An Israeli company's destruction of a house in Bab al-Silsila (Chain Gate) quarter of the Old City has led to damage of the roof of neighbouring shops. Resident Muhammad Abd al-Mu'ti Sublaban said that the destruction led to his roof splitting and to water leaking into nearby shops causing sizable damage to their contants.

AL NAJAH PROBE

NABLUS — On recommendation from the Board of Trustees of Al Najah University, Sharif Kana'na, has started work as head of a university committee composed of three professors to research and investigate issues raised during the building of the university. The building of the Humanities School which was completed a year ago has water leaking through some of its roofs.

NO GO TO LEBANON

The Israeli interior ministry has refused requests presented by hundreds of Arab residents of the Galilee to obtain permits to visit their relatives in Lebanon. Interior ministry sources said that the requests were refused because of the dangers of travelling in Lebanon due to bad weather conditions.

The sources added that the permits would be given only in exceptional cases and not for the purpose of meeting relatives.

ATTACK ON WB BASE

Unidentified people opened fire on an Israeli military camp near Sharaf village, north of Nablus. No one was injured. Soldiers at the camp said they saw three figures and army forces subsequently searched the area.

ATTACK IN TRIPOLI

BEIRUT, AFP — Unidentified persons opened fire at the entrance of the Islamic hospital in Tripoli killing a woman.

March 6, 1983

POLICE SUSPECT RIGHTISTS

TEL AVIV — Israeli police investigators believe that an extremist Jewish group put the time-bomb near the Islamic waqf building in al-Aqsa mosque compound last Friday, according to Israeli reports.

BUS BOMBED

TEL AVIV — Unidentified persons threw a Molotov cocktail at an Israeli bus near Arrabeh village in the Jenin area, smashing the windscreen. No one was injured.

PALESTINIANS NOT PERSONALITIES

TEL AVIV — *Yediot Ahranot* reported that the Israeli Broadcasting Authority committee has decided not to use the expression 'personalities' when referring to PLO officials in their radio and TV news transmissions. The decision was taken after a request from a Kiryat Arba lawyer to the news editor, the general director of the IBA and the committee head.

COLD CLOSES SHOPS

RAMALLAH — Because of the continuing cold weather shop owners and merchants in Ramallah and al-Bireh say they cannot meet their commitments. Many shopkeepers hve closed their shops.

TAXED TO THE HILT

GAZA — Israeli tax officials have imposed a IS1 million tax on a livestock merchant. The authorities arrested him and confiscated the calves he owned, releasing them on payment of IS100,000. They are demanding he keep accounts.

FREED AT LAST

NABLUS — The six-day curfew on the Qasabeh quarter and the three-day curfew on the Balata refugee camp were lifted.

Members of Abu Sneineh family, residents of Shu'fat camp, after the death of Sheikh Abd al-Karim Abu Sneineh in a bomb explosion last week./JN

HEBRON HUNGER STRIKE

Prisoners at Hebron jail declared a hunger strike in their continuing protest against worsening conditions and harsh treatmentin the jail. They have also refused to meet relatives.

Leaflet issued by the Popular Committee to Release Laila Mi'ri, in Haifa. Laila is a Bir Zeit student from Jenin in prison without charge. 300 persons in Haifa to date, signed a petition for Laila's release.

250 women from the PCRLM, Women Against the Invasion (of Lebanon) as well as other groups, demonstrated on International Women's Day, March 8. Slogans included: "We won't be machines for making soldiers," and " Giving birth is a right, not an obligation."

March 7, 1983

DESTROY YOUR OWN HOME

The Israeli authorities ordered Mohammad Ahmad Nimr, from Far'oun in the Tulkarm district, to destroy part of his house (two rooms and a wall) on the pretext he violated planning regulations.

BUS STONED

Unidentified persons threw stones at an Israeli bus near Hebron. Israeli troops closed off the area.

Israel Radio announced that in another incident near Bethlehem a Molotov cocktail was thrown at a border guard jeep.

CELL ARRESTED

BEIRUT; AFP — The Lebanese press reported that Israelis arrested eight Palestinians from Rashidiyeh refugee camp (on the outskirts of Sidon in South Lebanon) on charges of setting up a cell to resist Israeli occupation.

BRIDGES CLOSED

JERICHO - The Allenby and Damia bridges were closed to traffic because of the rise in level of the Jordan River after the torrential rain of the past two days.

JOURNALIST DETAINED

NAZARETH — The Nazareth police held journalist Afif Salah Salem, director of the Bashir Office for Advertising and Publishing, on charges of distributing and publishing a newspaper without a licence.

FINEDFOR FRAUD

The Israeli authorities fined two land agents from Tulkarm for forging land title documents before giving them to Israeli companies.

THE GUILTY REMAIN

Israeli Defence Minister, Moshe Arens announced that General Yehoshua Saguy, dismissed from his post as head of Israeli military intelligence, is to remain in the Israeli army. Saguy was dismissed on the recommendation of the inquiry commission into the massacres at Sabra and Shatila.

LEAGUE OPPONENT JAILED

Abdullah Awda Rujoub from Dura in the Hebron district was sentenced to five years imprisonment after being convicted of cooperating with the Jordanian authorities against the Village Leagues.

The Ramallah military court, which issued the sentence, proclaimed this a hostile act. This is the longest sentence imposed on a West Bank resident for working against the Village Leagues since they were set up.

ANOTHER BOMB

HEBRON — A suspicious object was found in the schoolyard of Abu Dayeh school in Wadi Tuffah. Students were prevented from entering the school while troops surrounded the area and called an explosives expert. Two hours later it was discovered that the object was not a bomb.

March 8, 1983

MAYORS STILL FIRED

The 'civil administration' in the West Bank has renewed the dismissal order on the mayors of Nablus, Ramallah and al-Bireh for another year. According to Jordanian law, dismissed mayors are permitted to renew work one year after dismissal orders are given.

Israeli radio said that the 'civil administration' wants to stop Bassam Shaka'a, Karim Khalaf and Ibrahim Tawil from returning to work.

BREADLINE LABOURERS

GAZA — Riyadh Madani, the military authorities general director of labour and professional training, said that the number of workers in the Gaza Strip is 85,000, of which 38,000 work inside Israel. Madani said that 50 percent of those 38,000 are construction labourers. Their daily wages are between IS200 and IS500.

NO LETTERS

JERUSALEM — Residents and business people of the Christian and Armenian quarters in the Old City are complaining that the post does not reach them. They are asking those responsible to look into the matter.

UPPING THE GUARD

HEBRON - The Islamic *waqf* in Jerusalem has issued the following statement:

"The *waqf* administration in Hebron has issued instructions for the reinforcement of guards at the city mosques, especially during Friday prayers. This measure follows the planting, on the 25th of last month, of a quantity of explosives near al-Qazazin mosque in Hebron during Friday prayers."

The Hebron municipality is also training employees of the *waqf* fire brigade in the town to put out fires and to use equipment. The course will last two months.

COCA COLA ON THE ROCKS

Unidentified people stoned the Coca Cola main storage and distribution depot near Shu'fat camp injuring a guard and breaking a number of empty bottles.

In retaliation Israeli soldiers broke into the camp school and threatened the headmaster it would be closed if such incidents reoccur.

STORES CURFEWED

AL-BIREH — The authorities closed a number of shops in al-Mughtarabin street, belonging to Abdallah Karakra, Zaher Mar'i, Assad Adhami and Abd al-Ru'uf Burghal, for two weeks after stones were thrown at Israeli vehicles passing near the shops.

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WELCOME..

hospitalised, Israeli sources reported, as a result of the clashes. Eyewitnesses said that soldiers spread barbed-wire across all streets leading to al-Manara and prevented traffic and pedestrians from passing through. One resident described the Israeli measures as "economic punishment."

MARCH 5

Despite snow, demonstrations continued in several refugee camps, particularly at Jalazoun and Amari in the Ramallah district. Residents of Jalazoun camp said Israelis travelling in a car which was stoned by youths near the camp opened fire at the camp. There were no reports of injuries.

In Nablus, student demonstrators chanted slogans condemning the occupation and stoned soldiers who attempted to disperse them. Later, the local military commander ordered the Qasabeh quarter curfewed. At Al Najah University, students held a protest meeting on campus and denounced the occupation authorities' move.

In Jenin, the northernmost town of the West Bank, youths hurled stones at Israeli vehicles and at the car of the Israeli-appointed mayor of the city, Shehab Sanouri. According to *The Jerusalem Post*, the mayor fired his pistol at the youths.

Demonstrations were also reported in several villages in the Hebron district and in Hebron itself. At the local university, students held a meeting and a sit-in to protest settlers' actions in the area. The protest dispersed peacefully.

MARCH 7

One Israeli settler was slightly wounded after a stone smashed the windscreen of an Israeli bus travelling on the Hebron-Beer Sheba road. A Molotov cocktail was thrown at an Israeli bus near Ayda camp near Bethlehem. Israel Radio said that the bottle exploded inside the bus but that there were no injuries. The fire was immediately extinguished. The camp was then put under curfew.

MARCH 8

One Israeli woman soldier was wounded when stones were thrown at an Israeli car passing near the camp.

In the village of Khadr the *mukhtars* were summoned by the Bethlehem area military governor and were informed that an indefinite night curfew has been imposed on their village. From 8:00 pm residents are not allowed out of their homes. No reasonss were given for the measure.

MARCH 9

Demonstrations in the West Bank

A wave of demonstrations and stone-throwing incidents broke out all over the West Bank, March 9, in protest at the visit by former US president Jimmy Carter to Bethlehem and the visit of Israeli Defence Minister Moshe Arens to Hebron. Seven Israelis were injured by stones, five of them women soldiers.

Davar Israeli newspaper said that the incidents centred on Hebron, Bethlehem, the Old City of Jerusalem, Nablus, Jenin, Tulkarm and Ramallah. The paper added that in East Jerusalem, there were attempts to demonstrate inside the Old City at the time of Carter's visit and that Palestinian youths blocked the road leading to Mount Scopus with stones. The Coca Cola company store in Shu'fat, a Jerusalem suburb, demonstrators.

The newspaper explained that as soon as Carter entered the Old City alleys, Palestinian residents gathered and shouted slogans condemning him. Israeli forces broke up other demonstrations taking place nearby, by firing shots in the air. They arrested 14 persons.

Carter's visit to Bethlehem was also received with seething demonstrations and protest actions. Until late in the evening Bethlehem University was under military seige, after students had demonstrated throughout the day against Carter's visit.

A burning tyre was thrown at the Bethlehem municipality while Carter was inside meeting Elias Freij.

Also Against Arens

Arens' visit to Hebron on the same day also sparked off demonstrations and stone-throwing incidents. Three women soldiers and one settler from Kiryat Arba were injured by stones as Israeli forces dispersed a big student demonstration near a local college. Demonstrators raised Palestinian flags and shouted anti-occupation slogans.

In Halhoul, a girls' high school was ordered closed until April by the military government after a series of demonstrations and stone-throwing incidents. In Yatta, Dhahriyeh (which is under curfew) and Dura, Israeli vehicles were stoned by locals and a number of girls were reported arrested.

Ten Cars Hit

On the main Bethlehem road, students from Frere's College stoned Israeli cars. One Israeli opened fire at them and Israeli forces beseiged the college and fired dozens of tear gas grenades into it, according to *Davar*. About 10 Israeli vehicles including military and police cars were hit in the course of the incidents. Several students reportedly needed medical treatment.

Tulkarm, Jenin, Nablus

Davar reported there were several persons arrested in Tulkarm, among them students from Fadiliyeh and Abd al-Nasser schools. In Nablus, Qadri Tuqan school was ordered closed after demonstrations when students threw stones at Israelis.

In Ramallah, three Israeli cars had their windows smashed

MARCH 10

Israel radio adds: "Disturbances were reported throughout (the West Bank) this morning. In East Jerusalem border police were called in to restore order after youths stoned vehicles from Damascus and Herod's Gates.

Four high schools were closed after students took part in 'riots'. The schools are located in Yatta, Halhoul, Beit Sahour and Dheisheh refugee camp. 'Security forces' used tear gas to disperse 'rioters' in Beit Sahour. There were also 'disturbance' in Ramallah, parts of Nablus, Hebron and Al Bireh.

"The army imposed a curfew on the refugee camp of al-Aroub after youths hoisted a Palestinian flag. Curfews are still in force in the refugee camps of Dheisheh, Jalazoun and 'Aida.

"In Jerusalem stone-throwing incidents broke out at about 9:00 am. Border guards reported that about 10 youths pelted cars from the top of the Old City walls near Herod's Gate. They were dispersed after about 10 minutes and one 18-year-old youth w s arrested. Other 'disturbances' were reported in the old market place and Damascus Gate. Some shopkeepers shut down stores in the Old City.

"In Gaza where former President Carter visited today there were demonstrations in the refugee camps around the town and along the Gaza Strip. Signs painted on walls denounced Carter and the man who invited him to Gaza, former Mayor Rashad Shawwa.

"Carter told Shawwa of his plans to go to Jordan to try to convince King Hussein to join the peace process. Shawwa said that Hussein would not agree as long as Israeli settlement activity continued."

Fragmentation Despite Common Goal

Growing Pains of the Palestinian Women's Movement

by Daoud Kuttab

In Dheisheh refugee camp near Bethlehem three different women's committees have been set up in the past five years. All three committees provide the camp's women with essentially the same programme: literacy courses, nurseries for working mothers, sewing, knitting and embroidery courses and regular lectures on health, economics, women's rights and the role of women in a community under occupation.

But, instead of enjoying broader community contacts, the different committees have seen a drop in their popularity. Camp women, who have had no experience with community organisation, are apparently confused by what they see as unproductive factionalism.

The Dheisheh case is a clear example of the crisis in the Palestinian women's movement in the occupied territories. The multiplicity of women's programmes has had some advantages by proving to different groups of women their ability to organise, work effectively and produce concrete results in a male-dominated society. But after several years of experimentation, women's activists say the movement has reached a plateau.

At the present time there are four committees operating in the West Bank and Gaza Strip: the Women's Work Committees, the Working Women's Committee, the Palestinian Women's Committee and the Women's Committee for Social Work.

This is a far cry from 1978 when a group of active young women, unhappy with the progress of the traditional women's charitable societies, first began discussing alternative ideas.

Fadwa Labadi, a member of the higher council for Women's Work Committees, (an organisation comprising 34 separate committees with 1,485 members) explains the early days of the movement: "We started in the Jerusalem and Ramallah areas mostly with voluntary public relations activities. The declaration by the UN of 1978 as International Year of the Child gave us the incentive to concentrate on the children of Palestinian martyrs and prisoners." The range of activities broadened with increased membership, as many Palestinian women found in the committee the understanding and freedom to work to solve everyday problems. "It was natural for us to devote our greatest efforts to the rural areas where the level of social, economic, health and political education of Palestinian women was the lowest," explained Labadi. Women from the city would go to the villages and cooperate with the women there. "We studied the situation in the villages to provide women with what they needed most."

After renting rooms, literacy, sewing and knitting classes were provided as needed. In addition to these courses, volunteer doctors would visit the villages every day of the week to provide free medical services and medicines at nominal charges.

With women attracted to the WWCs, either to learn skills or to get help in marketing their hand-made items, it was possible to educate women and hold 'consciousness raising' sessions.

In urban areas, the early committee concentrated on union activities, full-day nurseries and cooperative projects with village women.

SPLITS

With the success and growth of the first women's work committees, internal problems increased as well. Debates over priorities and the number of representatives divided the women.

In March 1981, another group of women started a 'social service' committee in the Jerusalem suburb of Ram. This committee became the nucleus of a new women's group known as the Working Women's Committee. According to Fatina Zughayyer, spokesperson for the committee, the organisation today boasts 46 local committees with 3,000 members in the West Bank and Gaza.

Its major difference on paper from the charitable societies is its devotion to the particular problems of Palestinian women who work outside the home. Committee activists say that their first priority is to raise the consciousness of working women to their complex of oppressions: a traditional patriarchal society, exploitation in the workplace, and the special difficulties of an occupied people. Their chief demand this year is the recognition of March 8—International Women's Day—as a paid holiday for all working women. According to Fatina Zughayyer, 100 institutions have agreed to give their women employees a paid vacation on March 8. The Working Women's Committee operates as a workers' union, but also offers social services similar to those of the other groups.

MORE COMMITTEES

In 1982 two other committees were set up: the Palestinian Women's Committee in the Occupied Territories and the Women's Committee for Social Work. Although each claim to have over 10 sub-committees, they have been criticised for having 'invisible' constituencies. Samiha Baydoun, spokesperson for the Palestinian Women's Committee, could not list major differences among the programs of the four groups. Even given the ideological differences, Baydoun could not explain why these differences necessitated the establishment of separate committees.

The focus of the women's movement has been directed mostly to examining problems within Palestinian society rather than those external to it. Thus, the demands of Palestinian women are practical in nature: better education, equal pay for equal work, opportunities for better health care, fair division of labour in the home and the general up-grading of their status.

The fragmentation of the women's movement has been used as an example of its over-politicisation, to the detriment of real progress on these practical issues. Perhaps the most apposite comment came from a Palestinian woman who is not directly involved with the committees: "The Palestinian national movement, which is basically a men's movement, is divided along ideological and sectarian lines, but the women's movement must be united because of the very weak position of women under occupation."

Representatives of the four Committees publicly claim to be in favour of this unity but have so far been reluctant to give up their local power bases. The Women's Work Committees used the issue of unity as their slogan for 1983. Explains Fadwa Labadi: "We need not dissolve into one group. We need a higher body which could coordinate activities in order to avoid unneccessary duplications."

The same sentiment was echoed by Fatina Zughayyer. The idea has been useful in uniting students committees and in setting education priorities through such bodies as the Council for Higher Education.